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ABSTRACT

The articles in this monograph are centered around a common concern: barriers created by career sex-stereotyping and the input of such stereotyping during the early years of a child's life. The first group of articles is composed of five discussion papers that provide insight into stereotyping existing in language, careers, toys, books, media, and other aspects of daily living. The second group consists of five original research studies addressing such topics as children's perceptions of sex-role identification of tasks and children's occupational knowledge at three age levels (i.e., preschool, third, and sixth grade). Two annotated bibliographies make up the third group; these (1) cite children's books that show males in warm, caring, and sensitive relationships with children and (2) present women as both mothers and workers. Each article suggests implications for teachers, parents, and other adults who influence children's perceptions of their place in the world of work. (MP)

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BREAKING BARRIERS

Overcoming Career Stereotyping in Early Childhood

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Foreword

The articles in this monograph are centered around a common concern: the barriers created by career stereotyping. The impact of such stereotyping during the early years of a child's life is a focus of many of the writers. The educational materials used with children, the role models they see, the language they hear, and the toys and games which are provided them either establish barriers or open doors to free choice of career options. If sex stereotyping exists in career presentations, children may grow up to believe there are two distinct categories of careers, those for men and those for women.

The articles are arranged by categories. The first group is composed of those articles which provide insights into stereotyping which exists in language, careers, toys, books, media, and other aspects of daily living. These articles are discussion papers with comprehensive reviews of relevant literature. They provide guidelines for selecting and developing materials for preschool children.

The second set of papers are original research studies. The studies address such topics as children's perceptions of sex role identification of tasks and children's occupational knowledge at various age levels. These papers are contributions to new understanding of career equity.

Annotated bibliographies make up the third category of papers. Special bibliographies document children's books which show males in warm, caring and sensitive relationships with children; show women in working situations; and show mothers as workers.

Each article provides implications for teachers, parents, and other adults who influence children's perception of the world of work and their place in it.

B. S. H.

Sex Fair Career Development

Sharon Lord
U.S. Department of Defense

Sugar and spice and everything nice,
That's what little girls are made of.
Snips and snails and puppy dog tails,
That's what little boys are made of.

How do we know that so well? Because poems, fairy tales, religious writings, children's literature, primary school readers, history books, adult literature, and even grandmothers have told us for years that girls are pretty and boys are strong; that girls don't fight and boys don't cry; that woman's place is in the home and man's place is in the world. Billboards, magazines, Hollywood movies, and television still show us today that the truly all-American male is the aggressive, adequate, armor clad, assertive, ambitious, all-knowing athlete. Football players and cheerleaders, doctors and nurses, businessmen and secretaries, and even Archie Bunker and Dingbat point out clearly the reciprocal roles that males and females are supposed to fill in all walks of American life.

It doesn't seem to matter where the stage is set; the actors and actresses are expected to fill the same roles: the dominant, active male leader; the subservient, passive female supporter. Our commercial advertisements from soap to soup depict the American female as an empty-headed maid whose greatest delight in life comes either from getting her toilet bowl sparkling white or from cooking a heart-shaped meatball that gives her husband indigestion.

We could argue that sex role stereotypes result from a belief system that says that one's gender should dictate one's life and that interest, abilities, aptitudes, and education are irrelevant. The secondary sex characteristics of the body in which one is born should dictate one's life. *Sexism* is a philosphy that endorses sex role stereotypes and usually makes the assumption that one gender is superior to the other.

Sexism can work in both directions. While women have been denied opportunities and have suffered from low pay in the public sphere, in the private sphere and in personal development male opportunities have been limited. On the books of Chicago to this day is a law that says it is illegal for men to work in the public schools with children younger than grade three. The law is not enforced today nor has it been for years. However, the

assumption underlying that law is that all men are less nurturant than all women regardless of their characteristics or upbringing. Sexist laws which discriminate against men based on rigid sex role assumptions should be removed.

Simply telling children that opportunities are available to them is not enough. What speaks loudest to them are the models that they see; therefore, we must structure educational materials so that a teacher or a counselor will bring real live role models of people doing a variety of work into the lives of children. This does not mean just getting little girls to meet women in non-traditional careers. A big part of moving beyond sex role stereotypes is reclaiming the important work women have been doing all these years, work which society has often devalued. With industrialization, the idea was introduced that some people were to be paid for their work and other people who stayed in the home were not to be paid. The sad effect of this has been that all of women's wonderful work in the home for which they received no pay is not considered valuable work. The American male is clearly defined by his paid work from his first consciousness when he is asked, "What are you going to be when you grow up?" What defines him is the work he is going to do for pay.

Sex fair career development is not just letting young women know they can be engineers or letting young men know thay can be nurses. Part of the task is helping children understand that all work is important. Sex free career materials should aim at helping children consider the full range of human choices and realize that most people work hard.

In mythology we have taught a young woman that she is going to grow up and at age 21 someone is going to define her for the rest of her life. So she sits around for ten years, doing the things she is supposed to do, finding great love and reward, but also realizing that she still has achievement needs which are not being nurtured. Thus she goes though a crisis and starts life over somewhere in her forties. Many marriages get lost in the process. All of this is not necessary if we would truly educate children toward a holistic concept of career planning and development.

One of the greatest challenges in developing sex free materials is one that people are often likely to say is not a big issue. It is the issue of language. How often do we hear, "Oh, don't call me chairperson—call me chairman. That's crazy. That's silly. You know those women's libbers. They just get hung up on words." At such times, we must be reminded that the psycholinguists have known for years that words are secondary symbols for the concepts in our brains. We choose one word over another because we are dealing with one concept over another.

The use of a generic *man,* which sometimes includes *woman* too, although we have no linguistic cue to let us know when we are included in

and when we are included out, is one of the most seriously debilitating things we have ever done to female people. There was a mother who told the following story: "My little girl came home from nursery school and she was all excited. So being a good mother I asked her to tell me what she had learned. She replied, 'Oh, Mommy, today we learned about man-eating sharks. They're great big fish and they have great big teeth, and they live in the ocean and they eat people.' And I said, 'Well, we're going to have to be careful the next time we go the the beach in Florida.' And my daughter said, 'Mommy, me and you don't have to be careful—sharks just eat men!'"

Another example from a person from another culture illustrates the same point. There is a filmstrip which shows a woman from India coming to America to go to church with her friend. The minister walks in and says, "Brothers, let us stand." The woman from India, knowing that brothers means male siblings, stays seated. But her friend says, "No, in this case, brothers means sisters, too." So she stands up. As the service goes on, the minister talks about mankind, and the fellowship of man, and brotherhood. By the end of the service, the woman from India is nodding as her friend keeps leaning over and saying, "Oh, in this case, that includes you, too." At the end of the service, the woman leaves the sanctuary but in a minute rushes back in. Her face is streaked with red as she says, "Oh, I was going to find the bathroom and in this case I find *men* includes me out!"

We teach young children that *man* means male people and it conjures up a male image in the computer. *Woman* means female people. *He* means male people and *she* means female people. Nursery school children look up at teachers and say, "Yes, sir. I mean, yes, ma'am. I mean, what is it?" They know it is important but they do not know the differentiations yet. Just when they have gotten it all straightened out, they go into the public school where someone says or implies, "Now sometimes when I say *man*, meaning people in your computer, I'm going to include females, too. But don't worry your little head about it; you won't have any trouble with it."

The American Council of Teachers of English voted two years ago to do what mountain people have done all along. In the mountains, you might hear someone say, "Boy, I'll tell you what, if a person fools around with my cousin, they'd better watch out." We know that sentence is not grammatically correct. It has a single subject verb and the reference is plural. Why did the mountain people do that? Why did they make that "mistake"? That particular one, using *they, them,* and *their* to include both sexes, lets us know that anybody better watch out, whether they are male or female. It is a solution which the American Council of Teachers of English accepted when it voted to accept *them, they,* and *their* as a singular referent when the gender of the referent was unknown.

The following fable summarizes the thoughts presented in this article on career awareness and sex role stereotyping:

Once upon a time a little girl was born. She was very bright, active, creative, and beautiful and her parents loved her very, very much. Because she was so bright, active, creative and beautiful, the other adults in her life loved her very, very much. Because they loved her so much, they decided it was important to teach her to be a good fairy princess. The little girl figured out that in order to be a good fairy princess she would have to give up some parts of herself and emphasize other parts. She really did not like that idea but since her parents and other adults did love her so very, very much, she decided she would try.

One lesson she had to learn quite early was that in order to be a good fairy princess, she needed to find the right, sweet, gentle froggy. If she loved him and kissed him just right, he would turn into a handsome prince who would define her for the rest of her life and she would never have anything else to worry about. So she spent less energy on her own growth and more energy trying to find the right, sweet, gentle froggy who would define her for the rest of her life.

She found that she had another lesson to learn because she found there were lots of sweet, gentle froggies in the world who were worth her energy, but she also found there were some warty toads and horny toads who did not deserve her energy. And so she had to spend less energy on her own development and more energy figuring out who were the sweet, gentle froggies and who were the warty and horny toads. As you might expect, she was not spending much time on her own growth.

She did find some special, sweet, gentle froggies but no matter how hard she tried to love them and kiss them just right, none of them turned into a handsome prince. At this point in her life she was quite frustrated and quite discouraged because she had put so little energy into her own development. It was impossible for her to define herself.

Fortunately for her, other fairy princesses began to talk to her. As they talked and as they shared their experiences, she came to a very important conclusion. She decided that frogs were nice. Some frogs were worth trying to walk hand and hand with through life. However, she did decide that a frog is a frog is a frog and he can never be a handsome prince who could define her for the rest of her life no matter how hard she tried. In fact, it is a pretty heavy trip to put on a sweet, gentle froggy to try to turn him into something he was never designed to be.

And so the fairy princess made a decision: she would put her energy into her own development so that she could define herself and she would let the froggies fall where they may.

Choosing and Using Non-sexist Materials with Young Children:

Ideas for Parents and Teachers

Betty Roe
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Young children probably learn most of their attitudes and beliefs, stereotyped or not, from the adult role models around them: parents, teachers, and others. Materials such as books, television episodes, and toys also have a strong influence, although they likely are not as persuasive as the role models. While choosing non-sexist materials is vitally important, equally important for parents is the realization that their actions, rather than just the materials that they choose, are highly influential in helping children develop non-stereotyped roles.

Use of language excluding women has long been a problem. For example, in Diogenes' search for an honest man, did he ever consider the possibility of an honest woman? Of course, Diogenes was using the term *man* in the generic sense—or was he? Young children would not take it in that way. Exactly when children learn about the inclusive use of the term *man* is not known, but preschoolers do not respond to the word *man* in a generic sense.

It is confusing that *man* sometimes means male and sometimes means people including women, but *woman* never means people including men. And certainly, when restroom doors are marked *Men* and *Women*, children learn quickly that *men* does not include both sexes. To young children, much literature must seem to be exclusively masculine, as dictated by terms such as *mankind, brotherhood, forefathers,* and the indefinite *he* used in situations where sex is not specified.

A child may wonder where our nation's foremothers were when forefathers are discussed so frequently. Would ancestors not be a more appropriate term? There has been a move to replace the generic use of the term *man* with *person* and to rename certain occupations using non-sexist terms (letter carrier for mailman). This may work well in many instances but fails to do so in others (*e.g.*, sportsmanship) without awkwardness. In many instances it seems that we might do better to work on changing the perception of certain words to include both sexes, rather than to come up with new terminology.

Many seem to feel that words such as *mailman* should be abolished from the language. It seems to me that it is perfectly acceptable and non-sexist to

call a male a mailman, but, when talking about the occupation in general, *letter carrier* should be used to reflect the fact that these workers can be either male or female. There have also been cases made for the need of non-sexist pronouns to replace the words *he, his,* and *him* when sex is not defined. *Heesh, shis,* and *shim* (Hultgren and Arthur, 1978) as well as *e* and *ir* have been suggested at various times. The *s/he* used by some journals seems preferable to words like *heesh* or *e.* Although it does not take care of the *his/her, her/him* awkwardness, it is a closer approximation to current terminology.

The language used to describe women is also a problem. While men are generally referred to as men, women are frequently called ladies (indicating idle, helpless, dependent creatures to many) or girls (indicating immaturity). *Ladies* is a term parallel to *gentlemen* and should be used in a similar manner. *Girls* used to apply to adult women is degrading in respect to their maturity. Men are rarely referred to as boys in connection with their occupations.

Honorific titles are also perceived by many to discriminate. *Mr.* is applied to all men whereas women are differentiated according to marital status by the words *Miss* and *Mrs.* The implication seems to be that women must advertise their status, either to show availability or to brag. The title *Ms.*has been suggested to overcome this problem.

Not only is the language used to describe women sexist in nature, the language usage of females is expected to fit into stereotyped patterns. Females are expected to use more polite language than males. This language lacks forcefulness and therefore, authority. Absence of strong statements in women's language has connotations of uncertainty and triviality.

Females are also expected to use more descriptive words than males (sweet, adorable, divine) and a wider range of distinctions in describing color (supposedly a trivial matter to males). Learning this women's language may deny women access to power because their language doesn't show the capability to acquire authority and exert power (Gunderson, 1976 reporting Lakoff's 1973 study; Carney, 1977).

Adults recognize forms of language that are supposedly characteristic of women or of men, but a study by Edelsky (1976) showed that younger children (first grade) do not tend to connect language form with the sex of the speaker. People are socialized into recognizing such differences. If books which avoid these language stereotypes can be emphasized, this may be helpful in working to eliminate these stereotypes. If the role models around children persist in speaking in stereotyped ways, however, books alone will not be likely to overcome the effect.

In addition to differential language, the male/female stereotypes have been accorded with different personal attributes. Studies have indicated

that men have been stereotyped as being intelligent, healthy, strong, ambitious, aggressive, tenacious, and self-controlled, but sometimes untidy and rude. Women have been typified as dull, compassionate, weak, neat, passive, acquiescent, loquacious, sexy, flirtatious, obedient, mannerly, and emotional. Obviously, more of the valued traits of our society have been attributed to males. Both trade books and textbooks have tended to attribute these characteristics to the male and female characters.

In a thesis study of "Sex Role Behaviors in Selected Children's Literature in 1960–1965 and 1970–1971," Barber found that male characters more frequently had active, creative roles and female characters had passive, non-aggressive, non-assertive roles. Barber included in her study books randomly selected from lists in "Books for Children," an American Library Association publication, plus the 1960 and 1970 Newbery and Caldecott award-winning books. Only books written and illustrated for children under the age of six were chosen for the study. Barber discovered that more than half of the book characters were male. In the picture books males appeared three times as often a females. There was a decrease in active female roles in the 1970–71 books from the number of such roles in the 1960–65 books. The later books also showed more female involvement in home-oriented or domestic activities. These books showed both males and females in passive roles, but active roles were predominantly male (6–1 ratio). There was no female representation in sports activities in the more recent books while there was an increase in male creativity and problem solving.

Gunderson (1976) reported a study by Weitzmann and others of sex role socialization in picture books for preschool children. They studied sex roles in Caldecott Medal, Newbery Award, Little Golden Books, and etiquette books. They found many cases in which women were not portrayed at all. In the picture books the boys were active; the girls were passive.

Also reported by Gunderson (1976) was a study by Key that showed females in children's books to be helpless, easily frightened, and dull. Elizabeth Fisher (1974) found that even animals and inanimate objects in books tended to be male. Even boats (which have traditionally been referred to as being female in the real world) are males in stories like *Little Toot* and *Where the Wild Things Are.* An exception is Burton's creation of a female steamshovel named Mary Anne and a snowplow named Katy.

Nilsen (1977) reported a study of reading textbooks from 14 major publishers. She found that the ratio of boys to girls pictured was 5–2 and the ratio of clever boys to clever girls was 4–1. The tendency was for the female characters to play supportive, appreciative roles and for male characters to show strength, bravery, and leadership.

In a 1967 Newbery Award winning book, *Up a Road Slowly,* by Irene Hunt, Julie's Uncle Haskell says, "Accept the fact that this is a man's world

and play the game gracefully, my sweet." Many books convey this impression whether the idea is directly stated or not.

McDowell (19[illegible] pointed out that newer books show mothers as heads of households more often than was true four or five years ago. Daycare centers are appearing as settings for stories, and mothers at the beach now swim instead of just watching children play.

Some books are now showing men sharing child care and nurturing children. Robert Stewart's *The Daddy Book,* Arnold Adoff's *Black is Brown is Tan,* and Margot Zemach's *Hush, Little Baby* are examples. In some books, stereotyping of toys by sex is being decreased, as seen in books such as *William's Doll, Ira Sleeps Over,* and *Boys and Girls, Girls and Boys.*

Fisher (1974) found that folktales treat women a bit better than some more recent books. In Hansel and Gretel, Gretel is the one who pushes the witch into the oven. In many folktales wives are smarter than their husbands. This is not true of most fairytales with princesses who are waiting to be rescued by handsome princes and carried off to live happily ever after.

People seem to have developed very restrictive stereotypes of occupations that are male or female. These, too, have been perpetuated in the trade books and textbooks that are written for children. In the Weitzman study (Gunderson 1976), no working women were found in the Caldecott Medal books studied. In Barber's thesis study, most women were depicted as teachers, librarians, or nurses or were involved in domestic-oriented work. Pyle (1976) reported a study by Stewig and Higgs related to representation of women in various occupations in books. Of 154 picture books analyzed, 13 included no women. Of the others, 83 percent had women in homemaking roles and 17 percent had other roles depicted. Of the 17 percent the most common occupations were teacher, maid, and nun. There were no lawyers, scientists, concert musicians, or a variety of other professions.

Baruck (Pyle, 1976) asked fifty fifth grade girls what they wanted to be when they grew up. Half of them wanted to be either a secretary, nurse, or teacher (stereotyped female roles). Also high on the list were stewardess, actress, and singer. Only three chose physician; four chose veterinarian; and five chose scientific specialties. None chose business manager, architect, politician, or banker. Is it any wonder that girls' aspirations are so low and their choices so limited when they are constantly bombarded by stereotypes of roles that are appropriate for them?

A 1979 article in *Computerworld* pointed out that there are 40 million women in the American labor force, but 75 percent of this number are employed as elementary school teachers, secretaries, waitresses, bookkeepers, and domestics. The same article pointed out that only 5 percent of all executives are women. With this information in hand, a person may well

conclude that children's books, with their limited occupational horizons for women, are merely reflecting reality. But who is to say that these books do not help to shape this reality? If females were allowed to glimpse broader horizons and more limitless opportunities for action as possiblities set forth in literature, might they not engage in more varied pursuits? The truth is that we cannot predict the effect of reading materials on different readers (Tibbetts, 1978). Harm may or may not be resulting from sexist materials. But if any chance of harm exists, should it not be neutralized by affording youngsters more than the restricted models which they have traditionally been offered?

If this is so, parents and teachers need criteria to use in choosing materials for children that will be both high quality literature and non-sexist in nature. The materials should also fit the age group for which they are intended. Here are some criteria which may be used:

Criteria for Choosing Books for Young Children

I. Literary worth
   - A. Characters with which they can identify
   - B. Universal theme
   - C. Logical plot
   - D. Appropriate setting
   - E. Good writing style

II. Appropriateness to age group
   - A. Much repetition (especially for preschool)
   - B. Simple plot
   - C. Much action
   - D. Colorful illustrations
   - E. Many illustrations

III. Lack of stereotyping
   - A. Gender
     1. Language
     2. Occupations
     3. Clothing
     4. Personal characteristics
   - B. Race
   - C. Nationality
   - D. Religion
   - E. Age

IV. Things to check
   - A. Illustrations—dress, activity, setting
   - B. Story line and interaction of characters—dominance, cleverness, etc.
   - C. Occupations represented—sex of workers
   - D. Wording—derogatory terminology

The Journal of Reading (December, 1977) contained a "Guide for Evaluating Sex Stereotyping in Materials" which presented many of the ideas discussed previously. Some lists of non-sexist materials have been prepared by various individuals and groups. The staff of the Non-Sexist Child Development Project has produced an "Annotated Bibliography of Non-Sexist Picture Books" and a "Bibliography of Non-Sexist Materials" (New York: Women's Action Alliance, Inc., 1976). Judith Adell and Hilary Klein Dole produced *A Guide to Non-Sexist Children's Books* (Chicago: Academy Press, Ltd., 1976) which includes 141 books which portray boys and girls in a non-sexist manner. Nancy R. Motomatsu produced "A Selected Bibliography of Sex-Fair Materials" (Olympia, Washington: Olympia School District, 1977) which includes textbooks and instructional media providing non-sexist images of males and females. In *Children's Literature: An Issues Approach* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1976) by Masha Rudman, the chapter on the female has an annotated bibliography of children's books, some sexist and some not. "A Basic Library for Liberated Children" is a list of non-sexist materials compiled by Lettie Cottin Pogrebin. It covers books for all levels. Enid Davis has written *The Liberty Cap: A Catalog of Non-Sexist Materials for Children* (Campbell, California: Academy Press, 1977).

McDowell (1977) pointed out several things which are important for us to remember as we choose materials for children. First, preschool children do not easily identify with the unfamiliar; therefore, the nuclear-mother pattern endures. It makes no more sense to withhold stories of nurturing mothers from children than it does to show them no examples of nurturing fathers. Second, in writing about "stories for free children" McDowell points out that "The literary structure . . . remains conventional with straightforward plots, exaggerated and flat characterization, uncomplicated motivation, and simplistic resolution of a single conflict. Seldom can the humor be subtly satirical. Almost always the action develops from the point of view of a single character, usually a child." She also says that "The brevity, directness, and simplicity of children's fiction preclude subtlety and depth in depicting human relationships. Children's fiction is an awkward medium for political persuasion aimed at change rather than stability."

Just because material is non-sexist does not mean that it is necessarily good literature. If children are given non-sexist literature that is of poor quality, it is likely that they will find some stereotyped material of better quality to be more appealing. If they enjoy it more, they may tend to emulate the characters in it more.

It is also true that children will very likely encounter sexist material in many situations out of control of parents and teachers. Instead of attempting to isolate them from this material, it is probably best to help them view

it critically. Schulwitz (1976) suggested questioning children about whether activities are only appropriate for one sex or if certain things stated about girls are true. She also suggested changing endings to less stereotyped ones. In addition, children may reword disparaging phrases about girls so they are less sexist.

It is important for parents to read to their children. The child's enjoyment is of prime importance, but the experience is a learning experience for the children. They learn language by listening to it spoken. They also learn attitudes from material presented. Parents must choose carefully materials that give children a broad and unbiased picture of the world. This does not mean that all materials will be ones without any stereotyped characters. It means that among the stories presented will be many high quality stories with non-stereotyped characters to counteract the stereotyped ones. Flood (1977) pointed out that children can benefit from warm-up questions to help prepare them for the reading, that they need to become part of the reading process by asking and answering questions, that they benefit from positive reinforcement by parents during the reading, and that evaluation of the story after the reading through parent's questions is valuable.

The suggestions for parents are equally good for teachers. In addition Lehane (1977) suggested encouraging "let's pretend" activities. He found that children could step out of sex-role stereotypes when they were involved in fantasy. Teachers can also see that materials in the classroom do not become labeled for boys or girls. Boys need to have a chance at cooking and homemaking activities, girls at block building and other construction activities.

Children are influenced toward or away from stereotypes in many ways other than through their reading materials. One of the most effective forces is that of the examples set for the children by the adults in their lives, especially parents. In an article on "The Sexes" in *Time* (1973) is the following story:

The first-grade daughter of a Berkeley family in which husband and wife share the housework recently noticed, while looking at her primer, a picture of a mother cooking and a daddy reading the paper. "Why is she working and he's just sitting there?" the girl asked. Then she looked again and said, "I know. It must be her week to cook." Perhaps if we provide appropriate live role models, the stereotyped literature will not have undue influence after all.

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Why a Concern About Preschool Sex Stereotyping?

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Children learn that there are two categories for gender indentity—male and female—even before they recognize which category they belong to (Thompson, 1975). There is general agreement among psychologists that gender is the most salient dimension for categorization that people use (Katz, 1979; Mussen, 1968). And when Dick and Jane learn that they are male or female, they are not simply learning that they are anatomically different; more importantly, they are learning that as male or female, they must each respond to a particular gender role. Each learns that there are ways of thinking, feeling, talking, planning, dressing, acting, smiling, looking, and wanting to be, which are considered appropriate for each one as male and female. The *process* of gender role identification is universal, although the content varies from culture to culture.

Children are very attuned to sex specificity of items in their environment (Williams, *et al.*, 1976). In a study of preschool boys' and girls' toy preferences, children were shown some trucks and dolls and told that these were "boy's" and "girl's" toys respectively. When allowed to play with whichever toy interested them, boys sought the trucks and girls sought the dolls to play with. When the same toys were introduced to another group of preschoolers without the sex-assigned labels, both boys and girls played with dolls and trucks without any particular adherence to stereotyped notions of sex/toy preference (Serbin, *et al.*, 1979).

A similar study looked at children's performance on tasks which had been introduced with sex-appropriate labels. The importance children attached to good performance on the tasks, their expectancy of good performance, and the amount of time spent on the task were evaluated when children were told that the tasks reflected either "boy's subjects," "girl's subjects," or "subjects in which boys and girls both do well." Boys in particular made greater efforts and attached more value to success in boy's subjects than they did on either the neutral or the girl's subjects. Girls also demonstrated more concern and effort on the girl's subjects, but also worked hard on the neutral subjects. In addition to evidence that children will differentially value and make efforts based on the sex-typing of a task, Tryon (1980) found that if children were informed that a person of one sex

preferred a particular task, the children concluded that members of that sex would be more competent at that task.

Children's awareness of sex appropriateness of toys and tasks, then, determines their expressions of interest, their degrees of effort, their concerns with excellence, and their assumptions about competence. We cannot know whether these phenomena reflect more than the child's concern to behave according to sex-typed notions of "appropriateness," to behave in conformity with the culture's determinations of what a boy or girl should do. The fact that these preferred behaviors are not biologically determined is evident in the findings of Margaret Mead that children of various cultures will conform to sex role stereotypes, even when the different cultures have vastly different stereotypes for the sexes. The indication would seem to be that children desire to avoid social sanctions, to attain comfort, security, and mastery of the world by learning to behave in ways in which they are expected to behave. Certainly, then, children's responsiveness to sex labeling will set limits on their willingness to explore, to be curious, to make efforts, and to learn in areas which have been labeled as appropriate to the other sex and inappropriate to their own.

A study by Cordua, *et al.,* (1979) dramatically illustrated the potency of sex role stereotyping and children's responsiveness to "sex-appropriate" labels. Nursery age children were shown one film from a set of four depicting a little boy visiting the doctor and nurse. For the four different films, the sex of doctor and nurse were varied so that all possible combinations were presented (male doctor, female nurse; male doctor, male nurse; female doctor, male nurse; female doctor, female nurse). Children were pretested to insure that they had paid attention and could recognize the faces of the individuals who had been in the films. Despite this check on attentiveness, however, 53 percent of those who had seen the female doctor/male nurse combination reported having seen a male doctor with a female nurse; *no* children who had seen a male doctor with a female nurse made errors in the face/role identification.

How do children learn to label behaviors, roles, and activities as sex appropriate? To date, psychologists have described two general types of mechanisms thought to account for the acquisition of sex roles (Katz, 1979). The first type of mechanism involves the use of a model from the environment as the means of learning how one is to behave. Psychoanalytic theory calls this process "Identification," and the route by which the child achieves her/his appropriate sex role identification involves the successful resolution of the Oedipal conflict; with resolution, the child comes to identify with her/his same-sex parent and learns what it means to be an adult of that sex via this identification. The strength of the emotional bond between parent and child promotes the parent as the child's primary model.

Another theoretical trend called social learning theory shares the idea that the child learns what it is to be male or female by modeling her/his behavior on others, but rather than positing the Oedipal struggle, social learning theory speaks of the child's *imitation* of significant and attractive others. Of course, for most small children the most significant and attractive adults are the parents. Social learning theory has not yet adequately justified its assumption that the child will find the same-sex parent the most attractive model (Katz, 1979), and the empirical evidence concerning this is still controversial (see Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974; and Perry and Bussey, 1979, for each side of the argument).

The second type of mechanism posited by psychologists to account for the child's acquisition of sex role comes from cognitive developmental theory (Kohlberg, 1966). This theory suggests that once the child recognizes anatomically that he or she is a boy or girl, the child then engages in a self-labeling process. This process is motivated by an intrinsic experience of satisfaction which the child obtains by successfully acquiring the behaviors and attributes which are associated with the particular sex by which the child has labeled him/herself. Cognitive developmentalists posit that a child obtains satisfaction by the mastery of his/her environment: learning the appropriate ways that one is to behave involves such mastery, for the child is learning what "is me," what "is not me," and what "might or might not be me."

These two hypothesized mechanisms, which provide some framework for understanding how children learn what it means to be male or female, rely then on two primary factors: the significant people in the child's environment, and the labels which the child hears attached to things in the environment.

It quickly becomes apparent that adults can exercise a great deal of influence on the way that the child's sex role concept develops by providing varied models and being alert and careful about the labels assigned to activities and items in the child's environment. A judicious avoidance of sex-typing labels in discussions of different careers should have the effect of inculcating the child with the sense that job possibilities are not a function of one's sex but rather are a reflection of other aspects of one's interests and ideas.

If adults want to broaden the choices they present for children, they must seriously consider the limits which children inadvertently learn about those choices simply by functioning within a sex-stereotyping environment. Adults, of course, must first consider themselves the ways that they would want to see sex roles changed and then, by understanding how these roles are taught to children, they can begin to intervene and nurture sex role options which represent more consciously the sex role values which they want to promote.

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Developing Materials and Activities in Early Childhood Education

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It is important to explore the characteristics of educational activities in early childhood and the appropriate ways of using materials. Activities need to be designed to support particular goals. Materials that are developed should be supportive of these activities and the defined goals. Thus, if the goal of an early childhood program is to combat sexism, then the materials used should be ones that will not support sexual stereotypes.

Listed below are three suggested criteria related to knowledge to be used in evaluating early childhood educational activities and in judging how materials can support these activities.

1. *Is what I am teaching to the child worth knowing?* Is there any value to what I am teaching? (And everything that we do with children is value-laden). This one criterion actually represents the thrust of any project which relates the value base of educational content: the sense we want children to make of the world. Sexism causes children to view the world in a particular way. The value of any program is that it can help children, in the long run, eliminate such stereotypes.
2. *Is what I am teaching to the child developmentally appropriate?* Are the children capable of understanding what we want them to know? At what point in children's school life do you present certain kinds of information? Is it too sophisticated for the nursery level or the kindergarten level? Could we better present it at the grade one level?
3. *Is what I am teaching testable to the child?* Can the child construct this knowledge, validate it, and assimilate it or internalize it?

Values

When you discuss the worthwhileness of a program, you are dealing with the values that underlie that program. Too often we don't make the value base of what we do in early childhood education explicit. When you ask a teacher of young children, "What's the basis of your program? What do you really want to teach? What do you want the children to know at the end of nursery school?", the response is often, "I am trying to meet the needs of the children. I am trying to follow their interests."

Cultural values are imbedded in all early childhood programs. These values relate to: materialism and work; spiritualism and religion; individualism and freedom; community and power; family and sexuality; and equality and justice. Each early childhood program addresses those value areas in different ways. You find, for example, that children do not play in a Montessori school; they work. And they work very quietly and consistently. Their work is valued. It is seen as having great worth. The work has its own intrinsic rewards in Montessori education and it is through work that one develops.

In reading about the Chinese kindergartens, which are for children from the ages of about three to seven, you get a different view of work. Their idea of work is that children should do productive work that benefits society. There was a quote in *Childhood in China,* by William Kessen (1975) that describes this work. He says,

> We saw a wide variety of kindergarten factories. Children tested flashlight bulbs, folded cartons in which the bulbs were to be packed for shipment and inserted the bulbs into 40 or so holes in each carton. Children were given bowls of beans and taught to separate bad beans and stems from good beans. Under the supervision of adults, children planted and tended gardens. The children watered the plants with watering pails, pulled weeds and gathered radishes and lettuce that were ready for harvest. At other schools, children assembled and organized materials for sewing machine factories. Some children tied plastic envelopes into which screws and small parts could later be placed. All of these were activities in which the children could be successful. These are the things that were developmentally appropriate and through which they could see that their efforts resulted in products that were useful to themselves or to other people. In one case, at least, the children were taken to see a factory in which their own products were used.

The Chinese saw work as the coherent force that pulls a society together. Their children became a part of that society by engaging in productive work as early as possible—not in a negative sense, but in terms of things that they could do that can be worthwhile.

A third view of work can be found in the behavior analysis model of Head Start and Follow Through. There are two kinds of periods in the schoolday of that model: "work" periods and "spend" periods. The work period usually includes work in workbooks and programmed instruction texts. As children work, they are reinforced with tokens. The tokens earned are used in the spend period to gain access to activities such as building with blocks, painting, or playing musical chairs. Children have to earn these activities by accumulating tokens to spend.

In many of the everyday kindergartens teachers seem to avoid the idea of work. If there is something they want the children to do, they may say something like, "I've got a little game for you to play and it is really going to be fun. You're going to like it." Then they hand out the same kind of worksheets that are used in the behavior analysis class. In the language of the school, a game may not be a game. For example, when the teacher says, "Don't you think it is time to clean up now," she is not asking a question.

In these four programs are imbedded four different values related to work. From a Montessori point of view, work has almost a spiritual quality. You work for the sake of work which allows you to grow. From a Chinese kindergarten point of view, work is seen as the activity that allows one to be part of the community. From a behavioral analysis point of view, you work in order to spend. In most traditional kindergartens, work has become play and thus work is avoided.

One can speculate about the kind of grown-ups that would result from each of these programs. The typical university professor who spends 20 hours a day writing articles, doing research, and running around the country giving talks at a relatively low salary is probably the Montessori trained person. She/he does not work for the money, but because it is part of her/his own development.

The Chinese commune children might grow up venerating work as a way of being a productive member of society. One can almost see the American factory system operating in the behavior analysis program. The biggest problem among many young factory workers is absenteeism. These blue collar workers often make a decent hourly wage. The younger workers may work until they have earned enough, then take off from their jobs for a while. When this money is spent, they come back and work again. They have their work period and their spend period. You can use your own imagination in terms of what kind of an adult might be trained in a traditional kindergarten.

I have used these examples to show that we express a set of values about the kind of lives we consider worthy—the way in which we conceive of the good life in our society—in the way we present school activities.

Developmental Appropriateness

What you do with young children has an impact now and will have an impact on their later lives. Forman and Kushner's (1977) *The Child's Conception of Knowledge* presents three different conceptions of development. The first one is development as continuous change. The difference between the young child and the older person from this point of view is simply a matter of how much you know. Knowledge, skills, and understanding are continually added on. The behaviorists tend to see development that way. If you are developing materials from this point of view, you have to ask,

"Does the child already know enough to make use of the information we are providing her/him?"

The second conception presents development as discontinuous change. Not too many years ago, many educators viewed the early years as completely separate from the school age years or from adolescence. There were educators who believed that nothing worthwhile was learned before six and nothing that teachers did before teaching the child to read made any difference. Based upon this concept of discontinuous development, there may be little that you can do that is worth doing in the early childhood years, since careers are established in later life.

The third conception presents a view that development is the integration of continuous and discontinuous change. This view you find inherent in the works of Piaget and Erikson. Both of them assume a stage theory of development: children know and do different things at different points in their lives because they are different at each stage. But what you do at any stage has an impact at later stages as well. Achievement does not remain in exactly the same form. The child goes through a series of metamorphoses through which what existed early in life is integrated in the new. As we learn and grow, we take apart the ways in which we understand things and put them together in new forms. None of the experiences we give young children is ever lost, but early experiences take on different meanings later in life.

Each one of these conceptions leads to a different view of what kind of activities and materials to present in early childhood education. Are young children capable of understanding something about careers? To what extent are their present and future orientations to the world of work distorted by stereotypes that may be introduced to them in the early years? You can identify the intellectual stages of early childhood and decide what kinds of experiences and materials will make sense to children at this level. From a Piagetian perspective these children are at the preoperational and concrete operational stages. They are beginning to develop symbolic thought, so symbolic materials would be useful to them. They need to act upon the world physically, so symbolic materials (*e.g.*, pictures, photos, or other representations) are not enough.

Young children learn a lot through dramatic play; therefore, developing props for dramatic play is important. These children are still stimulus bound and tend to be fairly egocentric. It is hard for them to see the world from somebody else's point of view. That is true from both their physical perspective taking and social perspective taking. A young child cannot understand, for example, when he/she hits another child or when he/she uses a racial slur, how another child might feel.

The Nature of Knowledge

The third set of criteria is related to the nature of knowledge. We teach children many different things about the world. How do we as adults know that what we know about the world and what we teach to children is true? We can apply truth tests ourselves or we can use other people's tests of knowledge. The young child often has to take the word of somebody else. The child's dependence on others for much of the testing limits his/her autonomy.

There are different conceptions of knowledge in the world and different views of how knowledge can be tested. For example, from a behavioral point of view, knowledge is seen as repertoires of behavior that are passed on from one generation to another—from teacher to learner. There is no independent testing of knowledge, and the person who teaches determines what is true and what is right. Often we transmit knowledge by telling, by lecturing, by using books or visual aids, by demonstrating things in ways that require children to depend on authority to tell them what is true. Most elementary programs and many early childhood programs are based on this view that the test of knowledge is determined by authority. If someone in authority says it is true, then it must be true.

In contrast, a constructivist view of knowledge suggests that in order for children, as well as adults, to become knowledgeable, they must act upon the information they receive in some way. For example, in listening to a lecture you may reflect: "Hey, that makes a lot of sense"; or, "That's a lot of hogwash"; or "That was kind of cute, but I don't buy it." You test the ideas in terms of what you know to be true or right or valid. In doing this, you modify the message sent and you personalize the message you receive.

Piaget takes the constructive view of knowledge, suggesting that children do not simply assimilate information, but that they are actually involved in the creation and testing of knowledge. From a Piagetian point of view, if you want children to be well educated, they have to be provided not just with factual information, but with ways of generating and verifying knowledge. Piaget, according to Kamii (1973), has indentified four forms of cognitive knowledge: physical, logical-mathematical, social, and representational. Each of these four are different in terms of the ways in which knowledge is generated and verified.

Physical knowledge is knowledge of the physical attributes of things. A table may have a brown top, four legs, be rough on top but smooth on the sides, and stand thirty inches tall. If you disagree with my description, we can validate it by recourse to the object itself. We can actually go to the table, measure its height, look at its color, and feel whether it is smooth or

rough, and the information gathered would support or refute the original description. Physical knowledge is generated through perceptions and is verified and validated by the common perceptions that we have.

Social knowledge is knowledge of conventions—the rules of how we behave—and that is not directly observable. If a person from Mars should see an object such as a table, she/he could determine its physical attributes from observing it but not its use. She/he must ask an authority about that. Some years ago this writer taught a summer session class in which 49 people were enrolled, and the assigned room was designed for 25 people. At the first session there were 26 chairs and 49 people. Some people leaned against the wall, one sat on an upturned wastepaper basket, two sat on the floor, and others stood. But when I arrived in the classroom somewhat late, there was one chair on which nobody sat. It was the teacher's chair. It did not have a sign saying it was teacher's chair, but it was behind a table in front of the room. Nobody even questioned the fact that the chair remained empty. The one rule that everybody in that class had learned throughout school was, "Thou shalt not sit in the teacher's chair unless you happen to be the teacher of that class." This was social knowledge.

An understanding of sex-appropriate roles is also a form of social knowledge. What a male or female does in a society is seldom determined by physiology, but rather results from the rules and conventions of that society. These rules and conventions are passed on from one generation to another through both formal and informal forms of education. In a static society, these rules do not change. In a dynamic society, however, each generation may modify or discard existing rules and conventions and create new ones.

Logical-mathematical knowledge, from Piaget's point of view, is knowledge of mental operations, including classifying, seriating, numerating and putting things in a framework of space and time. These are ways of organizing information. We can identify a class of objects that we call "tables" so that when we go into a new room and see a table that we have never seen before, we know what it is, we know what to call it, and we know what to do with it. We know a lot about that table, not because we have seen that table before, but because it fits into a classification scheme and we have learned about that class of objects.

We can count how many tables there are in a room and order the tables by size. We can visualize tables in the front of the room, the back of the room, ten feet away, or a mile away. We can conceive of tables as they were long ago, or will be later today, tomorrow, or a year from now. This ability to place things in spatial and temporal contexts helps us organize the world and incorporate new information into our scheme of things. These forms of

knowledge have to be developed by children as they use their skills in actually classifying and seriating things.

These and other ways of conceiving of forms of knowledge help us understand children's ways of knowing and what happens as we present activities and materials to young children in school.

Conclusion

The criteria I have suggested for developing materials are related to what you want children to be. A concern for only the value base of an educational program will serve to limit its effectiveness. When sexism is the focus of a program, three dimensions need to be addressed:

1. *Is what I am teaching to the child worth knowing?* Is it something considered valuable to know? Is it useful to the child? Is it consistent with the demands of the culture? Or will it help the child cope better with his/her surroundings? Will it help the child become more productive in his/her environment?
2. *Is what I am teaching to the child developmentally appropriate?* Is there a proper match between what I am offering and what he/she already knows? Is the activity I am introducing challenging without being frustrating? Is the child able to deal appropriately with the information provided? Does the child have the intellectual, social, and physical skills to succeed in the learning activities?
3. *Is what I am teaching to the child testable to the child?* Am I presenting the knowledge to the child in the form of activities that allow the child to validate the truth of that knowledge independently? Does my method of instruction fit with the kind of knowledge that I am teaching?

My hope is that you can use these criteria, and test what you are doing using these questions. By doing so, you will be able to use materials that are not only consistent with the values that you hold and that you wish to communicate, but also are ones that will help children make sense out of what they learn. As a result, the children who come in contact with the materials will grow, develop, and learn, becoming the kind of mature, sophisticated, knowledgeable individuals we want our children to become.

Note

1. The content of this paper is based upon B. Spodek, "What Constitutes Worthwhile Educational Experiences for Young Children." In B. Spodek, ed., *Teaching Practices: Reexamining Assumptions.* Washington, D. C.: NAEYC, 1978

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Women in the World of Work

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Most people (male and female) will participate in the paid labor force for a significant portion of their adult lives. The quality of that participation is determined, to a great extent, by the kind of career or job preparation they receive as students. It is, therefore, extremely important for anyone who is attempting to develop career education materials to be aware of the reality of women as workers as well as the hidden agenda, differential socialization of boys and girls. Such socialization tends to limit the range of options available to women as workers despite laws that prohibit discrimination in employment.

Although women comprise 40 percent of the labor force, they are concentrated in occupations that are both low paying and low status. Bureau of Labor statistics (1979) illustrate women's participation in various occupational categories (Table I).

TABLE I

Women as Percent of Total Employment
By Major Occupation Group

Occupation Group	*Percent of Total Employment (1979)*
Total employed	41.1
Professional and technical workers	42.7
Managers and administrators (except farm)	25.1
Sales workers	45.6
Clerical workers	79.9
Craft and kindred workers	5.7
Operatives (except transport)	39.7
Transport equipment operatives	6.9
Nonfarm laborers	10.5
Private household workers	97.2
Other service workers	58.2
Farmers and farm managers	10.7
Farm laborers and supervisors	30.8

Women are most highly represented as private household workers, clerical workers, and sales workers. In lists of those positions that carry with them more power, more influence, and a lot more money, there are very few women.

Bureau of Census statistics (1978) also reveal the earning scale differential between male and female workers. For example, in 1978 women had median earnings of $9,350 compared to $15,730 for men. Women's earnings as a percent of men's for 1978 were 59.4 percent.

Although the figures are slightly different now, the proportions are nearly the same. Today, women earn 59 cents for every dollar earned by men. In fact, women with five years of postsecondary education earn, on the average, less than men with high school educations.

Most women work because of economic necessity; yet many members of the business and professional community endorse the myth that women are working for "pin money" or to satisfy their egos. Actually, most women work outside the home because of economic need. Nearly two thirds of all women in the labor force in 1977 were single, widowed, divorced, separated, or had husbands whose earnings were less than $10,000 in 1976 (Women's Bureau, 1976).

Although 56 percent of all women work outside the home (a figure that is expected to rise to 67 percent by the 1980's) and 40 percent of women with children under the age of six are employed outside the home (a figure that is expected to be 56 percent by the 1990's), child care, whether publicly or privately supported is woefully inadequate. One reason given for not providing child care for working parents is that preschool age children will be forever traumatized if they are left in the care of a stranger during these formative years. One wonders what justification our lawmakers could have given for so traumatizing children in the 1940's. During the war years, the U.S. Government supported more than 3,000 child care centers—day and night—so that countless Rosie the Riveters could keep the wheels of industry moving and help America win the war. Despite the fact that women wanted to remain in the labor force and had earned the right to do so, when the war ended funds for child care were no longer made available and women were told that their children needed them at home. Actually, the return of the soldiers created a surplus of workers and the women who had kept home and factory fires burning were the "surplus." What easier way to force women out of the work force than to make them feel guilty for neglecting their children?

Women's roles as planners and decision makers and implementers of educational policies are minimal. Women are woefully underrepresented in administrative positions at all levels of education and in teaching at the postsecondary level. A recent study by Gappa and Uchling (1979) cites

specific percentages of women in various teaching levels of higher education. In 1972–73, 9.8 percent of full professors were women. In 1977–78, 9.7 percent of all full professors were women, a decrease of .1 percent. The only area in which women achieved significant gains was in the area of instructors. In 1972, 39.9 percent of instructors were women; in 1977–78, 50 percent of instructors were women, a 10 percent gain. The total gain of women in all areas of academic teaching in higher education is 3.2 percent, which is very insignificant when one considers that at least 50 percent of the present body of undergraduate students is comprised of women and that 53 percent of the population is female.

The status of women in the labor force is rather dismal. Underlying causes of this status are many; undeniably, one of the causes is differential socialization and what we (both men and women) have come to accept in terms of appropriate roles for males and females. There is no definitive proof that suggests that different behavior evidenced by the sexes is innate. In fact, there is evidence that points directly to social and cultural conditioning as the cause of our differential behavior.

How do we know what appropriate behavior is? We know because we are socialized, a process by which we internalize appropriate modes of behavior, the parameters of which are determined by the culture in which we live. Girls and boys assume roles which they carry out based on the messages they receive from parents, friends, teachers and others with whom they come in contact. Socialization differs from culture to culture. It has been stated that the socialization and differential socialization begin in utero when parents muse about whether they would rather have a girl or a boy.

> Countless women, at the birth of a girl have had to endure the commiseration, tacit or overt, of their friends and relations, the resentment and hostility of their husbands or in-laws, and the humiliation of feeling themselves accused of being unable to produce male children. They have experienced distress, guilt, and a sense of unworthiness at the birth of a girl. They have felt envy for others more fortunate or better than themselves. Some have even been rejected by their husbands for this reason (Belotti, 1976).

That differential socialization begins at birth can be easily documented. A female infant is swaddled in pink and a boy in blue. While a girl might be wrapped in a cast-off blanket, a mother or a father would never put their son in a pink blanket. The implication is, of course, that a girl can be mistaken for a boy, because maleness is a desired state, but if a boy is mistaken for a girl, it is a major disaster. Small boys are tossed around and addressed as "Daddy's little man." A small girl is picked up gently and held as if she might break, which is very far from the case. Boys are spoken to

directly in forceful tones. One speaks more softly to a girl. There are girls' toys and boys' toys. The major difference is in what the toys do and the statements that they make about what girls and boys should want to do.

Boys and girls both have dolls to dress nowadays, with certain modifications. Boys' dolls are not called dolls. They are known in the trade as "action figures" and they parachute, climb mountains, build fires, engage in hand-to-hand combat and come equipped with axes, guns and other instruments of power. Girls' dolls are still dolls. They grow enormous bosoms and hair. They wear short skirts and come equipped with mirrors, combs, and panty hose. Of course, these are articles of narcissism and enticement, not articles associated with power.

The books that children read, the shows they watch on television, and the role models in their community all serve to perpetuate the sex role stereotypes that girls and boys have come to believe are appropriate because of socialization. Even when a heroine is in a position of power, such as Angie Dickinson in "Policewoman" she invariably must depend on a male whose power supersedes her own to rescue her from danger or whatever mess she got herself into by virtue of being utterly feminine.

Language also reflects the male bias. A recent issue of a sports magazine not noted for its coverage of women's sports did manage to have an article about Evelyn Ashford, one of the U.S. top Olympic contenders in track. Ashford is 22 years old but was referred to in the headlines as "Give the girl a great big hand!" Boys tend to become men when they reach kindergarten. Girls frequently never become women.

Sometimes the use of the word *women* can be considered a "put down." Recently there was a rather lengthy article in a large city newspaper about a medical clinic. The clinic is staffed by a doctor (male) and two nurse practioners (both female). When referring to the day-to-day activities of these hard-working individuals, the writer stated that the doctor did "thus and so" and the women did "thus and so." Why were the women not referred to as nurse practioners? The doctor was referred to as a doctor. He was given his professional title. With the click of a typewriter, the journalist stripped the nurses of their profession and placed them in a subordinate postion to the doctor.

Language and pictures in textbooks which are considered to be the backbone of our educational system serve to promote the visibility of males and perpetuate the invisiblity of females. Before a child learns to read, she or he is introduced to picture books. Often a particular book chosen by a well-intentioned parent or family friend is read repeatedly to the child because it is a favorite. The pictures are colorful, the dog's tail wags, or the police officer's nose squeaks. Often we do not think carefully enough about what is in those books.

Parents should examine their own attitudes and know what their perspective is so that they can really endorse the materials they are going to use. Guidelines for parents to use when selecting books, games, and toys for their children would help them assess the subtle sex stereotyped messages incorporated in the materials. Parents should also realize that many choices are made for their children by default. For example, if girls do not enroll in enough math and science courses in high school, they probably will not be able to qualify for engineering of scientific careers. And, that is where the jobs are likely to be in the forseeable future. Parents must understand that their daughters are likely to participate in the labor force regardless of their marital or parental status. And whether parents envision for their daughter a life as the "wife of somebody" and the "mother of somebody," those same daughters are likely to be working outside of the home. Surely parents would much rather see their daughters work in jobs that are productive and rewarding.

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Preschoolers' Perceptions of Sex Role Identification With Tasks Around the House

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Americans are faced with a new urgency in the area of sex role identification and socialization. As the most efficiently transmitted of our values, sexism, a pervasive, destructive, and often unchallenged syndrome, is characterized by distinct attitudes and behaviors (Carl-Falkenstein, 1976). These often subtle and elusive dimensions of our social structure "operate to press females and males into distinct roles, one lesser, one greater" (Greenberg, 1978). The undeniable and long overdue need for change in so many facets of contemporary society is seriously hampered by the engrained cultural antecedents.

Although sex role stereotyping is everywhere, the two most centrally involved units are the family and the school (Joffe, 1971). In the home, children perceive the existence of differing assumptions of "appropriate" male and female behavior. This sexism in embryonic form is generated and cultivated through deliberate and indeliberate focus on sex role expectations and limitations and through role models. These methods are generally intended to encourage self-development as individuals and as functioning members of society. However, when such experiences help to build the self-images of one group at the expense of the other, they can only be considered as repressive (Stacey, et al., 1974).

The choice of careers based on sex roles has traditionally been a source of great repression. Individuals' potential and aspirations have often been sacrificed, causing pain to those persons and loss to society. Freedom from such conditions depends upon efforts in a three-level strategy directed toward change. This includes: an awareness of the problem, the clarification of feelings and values toward it, and action toward effecting change (Sadker and Sadker, 1976).

As the emphasis on "Equal Opportunity" continues to provide more career options for women, the world of work will include more adult females who are also wives and mothers. *The Subtle Revolution: Women at Work* (Smith, 1979) predicts that approximately 11 million additional women will enter the U.S. work force by 1990. Currently 40 percent of all married women with children work outside the home. These conditions are

helping the long delayed shift of the image of women from that of "household drudges" and homemakers to that of equals in occupations of their choice. This is true of self-image as well as perceptions of others. To make the shift a reality, the responsibilities of homemaking, usually associated with women, must become the corporate task of the adults and children who share the home.

If young people are to be more adequately prepared for the changing social scene in which sex equality is an issue of legal and social reality, efforts must be made to present this reality to boys and girls very early (Grambs, 1976). The success of such attempts to convey an increased sensitivity to women is dependent upon numerous factors. Studies extending over two decades have addressed the topics of children's perceptions, parents' attitudes, family experiences, and nursery school impact, with a view to determining how the roadblocks to sex equality might be eliminated.

Hartley (1960), recognizing the nature and quality of women's adjustment to their current status, questioned young females' perceptions of the world in which they were growing up. Since women's roles are complementary to those of men, it was important to consider both boys' and girls' views of the roles of each sex. The 157 subjects of ages five, eight, and eleven were asked how they would respond to a person from the moon who wanted to know about the world in which we live and about what needs to be done and known by girls, boys, women and men. Of the 640 items mentioned for women, 64.5 percent related to household care and management and child care. Work role items comprised only 6 percent of the total. Of the men's items 32 percent related to domestic chores and 27 percent to work role. The high proportion of domestic items reflects limitations of children's experiences to what is noted around the house as contrasted with the vague notion of "goes to work." When women were perceived as assuming work roles or men considered as occupied with domestic roles, each group was thought of as "helping" (*e.g.*, to earn more money; to get finished) but not supplanting the other. Responses gave no evidence of role confusion or of radical innovation. Less than traditional descriptions seemed to be just a gradual adjustment to the demands of modern living.

Recognizing that children's perceptions result in large measure from parental attitudes and behaviors, Lansky (1967) sought to determine if these differ for parents according to different family structures. Middle and upper class parents of 98 Boston preschoolers responded to questionnaires and interviews concerning reactions towards sons' and/or daughters' cross-sex preference (choices ordinarily associated with the opposite sex) for objects, games, and activities. Results indicated that parents and especially fathers of same-sex families (all boys or all girls) displayed a negative attitude toward boys' cross-sex choices. The same group showed

positive attitudes towards same-sex choices, but neutral attitudes toward girls' cross-sex choices and same-sex choices. These responses were in contrast to the overall neutral attitudes coming from parents of families with boys and girls. Boys are reinforced or frowned upon according to "macho man" behaviors, whereas girls, nurtured in their cross-sex choices only by indifference, are left to question the value of assertiveness.

As the first institutional contact outside the home, the nursery school's impact on the notion of sex role was investigated by Joffe (1971). Observations revealed that these schools fall on a continuum from "good" to "bad" according to their attempts to minimize or encourage sex roles. Despite conscious efforts to the contrary, even teachers in "good" schools were found to inadvertently impose stereotyping by such behaviors as complimenting girls' appearances when in attractive dresses and commenting favorably on the "little man's" physical exploits. It was also found that intriguing patterns of "sex differences" in friendships and play companions gave evidence of some sort of male and female subcultures. These findings obviate the fact that nursery school does not exist in a vacuum. Children, parents, and teachers all bring to the school myriad experiences from outside settings which contribute to the different conclusions about sex roles.

Of the factors influencing children's general knowledge of roles customarily performed by each sex, interaction with both parents has long been viewed by role theorists as having the greatest impact (Aldous, 1972). To discover whether family experiences really influence the allocation of particular tasks to men or women, Aldous (1972) involved black and white preschoolers from low-income, father-present and father-absent families in a role perception study. Given a described situation, subjects were asked to specify if (1) they thought men or women fill a certain role, (2) which would do so in their own "pretend" situation, and (3) who does it in their real family. The tasks presented were related to expressive, powerful, and responsible leadership (*e.g.*, does things right, whips you, brings home money). Findings indicated that children's knowledge of sex roles was not dependent upon parental example. Father absence or role reversals in their own homes did not alter the preschooler's perceptions of sex roles. The influence of stories or units at school, of family roles portrayed on television, and of observed beyond-the-family situations outweighed personal experiences. It is believed that the family can encourage or discourage perceptions, but its power is relative to that of the outside sources of this conventional wisdom.

During the 20 years since the earliest study accounted here, there has been much effort to eradicate or at least lessen sex role stereotyping. Beginning with very young children, the focus on awareness has been directed at the

two prime social institutions, the home and the school, but the consequences are not yet certain.

The following study addressed questions relative to homemaking in efforts to determine if children's perceptions of "traditional" roles indicate a shift toward totally shared responsibilities. Questions which the study sought to answer were:

1. To what extent do children of preschool age view the tasks of homemaking as the responsibility of *either* a man or a woman?
2. Do preschool age boys and girls differ in their perception of sex role identification with tasks around the house?
3. Do children whose mothers work outside the home perceive the responsibilities for homemaking tasks differently than those whose mothers do not "go out" to work?

Method

Subjects

Sixty children of middle- and upper-class families in Maryland and Kentucky were included in the study. Of the subjects aged three and four, there were 30 males and 30 females. Participation of three-year-olds was limited by their understanding of the concept of *either*. The age four subjects comprised 22 females and 21 males; the age three subjects included eight females and nine males. The mean age of all subjects was four years, three months. Fifty of the participants were enrolled in Maryland preschools; ten were from one preschool in Kentucky. All subjects were from both-parents-present homes. Fifteen subjects' mothers worked outside the home.

Materials

Pen sketches of 24 tasks performed around the house were used to accompany the questions related to the sex role identification with the tasks. Although the drawings portrayed action involving the jobs, no faces, bodies, or feet were shown with the empty trousers or slacks or with the nondescript hands. Three of the illustrations were used as examples with the directions for the experiment; 21 were part of the study. Three separate pictures depicted a woman (in slacks), a man, and the same woman and man together, yet standing apart. These sketches were used for identification purposes to indicate the duty as perceived to be associated with a woman, a man, or either. A record sheet listing the 21 tasks and the three possible response columns was provided for checking each subject's responses.

Procedures

In each state, a supervising teacher familiar to the children conducted the investigation. Children were asked individually if they would like to do some "special work." Those who responded affirmatively were introduced to the experiment through specific directions and script. The initial segments of the dialogue were, "This is almost like a game. Here are three pictures (while placing them side by side): a woman, a man, and a woman and a man. Which is which? I'll be showing you some pictures like these (examples: setting the table, weeding the garden, etc.) and we'll talk about things that are done around the house. Do you think this is done by a man, or a woman; or would either one set the table?" Clarifications were provided if necessary. The 21-question task followed. It included routine, periodic, and seasonal chores associated with homemaking. The task picture was placed under one of the three categories to allow child activity and to "force" a decision. After the record sheet was checked, the task picture was lifted away from the area and placed face down to the side. The category pictures were interchanged after the sixth and again after the thirteenth task picture/question. These measures were taken to eliminate the child's awareness that an accumulation may have formed under one category, thereby calling for a need to shift responses to create a balance. Children were given comment and think time. If elaboration of responses came from children, these remarks were noted.

Results

Responses from the 60 subjects were converted to percentage of each group (female and male, three-year-olds and four-year-olds) indicating the specific role indentification with the task. The mean percentage across all groups for each task was also computed. Since there were no distinctive qualities in the responses from the two states, the results for these two groups were collapsed. Percentages and means are give in Table I.

Of the 21 tasks questioned in the study, 13 of them had a higher than 50 percent mean associating them with a WOMAN. Those were routine, indoor jobs. Only four tasks had higher than 50 percent means relating them to a MAN. Those were periodic or seasonal chores. The highest mean in the EITHER category was the 36 percent of the preschoolers' perception of grocery shopping (see Table II). A separate analysis of the responses of the 15 children whose mothers work outside the home yielded results very similar to those of the total group. Twelve of the same tasks had above 50 percent indentification with WOMAN; four of the same tasks were related to MAN by more than half of the children. (This information is given in the asterisk column of Table II.) One four-year-old male, the son of a teacher

TABLE 1

Percentage of Subjects Giving Specific Responses

	MAN				
	*F4	M4	F3	M3	Mean
1. Vacuuming the rugs	14	24	25	33	24
2. Painting the walls	77	43	88	67	69
3. Making the beds	5	0	12	11	7
4. Washing the windows	18	14	12	22	17
5. Fixing broken furniture	82	71	75	67	74
6. Caring for sick child	23	24	12	22	20
7. Raking the leaves	55	53	63	56	57
8. Getting children ready for school /packing lunches	14	9	12	22	14
9. Mowing the lawn	54	81	62	56	63
10. Shopping for groceries	9	5	13	22	12
11. Mopping the floor	23	0	25	33	20
12. Cooking the food	9	14	0	11	9
13. Doing the laundry	9	5	0	33	12
14. Spraying insects, bugs	46	48	37	33	41
15. Cleaning the toilet	23	5	0	11	10
16. Taking out trash	41	52	25	56	44
17. Cleaning up after meals	27	5	0	11	11
18. Hanging draperies	41	24	50	33	37
19. Cleaning garage or basement	64	43	50	11	42
20. Dusting furniture	23	19	25	0	17
21. Washing pots and pans	18	14	13	11	14

*F4 = female, 4 years old; M4 = male, 4 years old; F3 = female, 3 years old; M3 = male, 3 years old

WOMAN					EITHER					
F4	M4	F3	M3	Mean	F4	M4	F3	M3	Mean	
68	48	75	45	59	18	28	0	22	17	1.
14	5	12	0	8	9	52	0	33	24	2.
68	48	88	67	68	27	52	0	22	25	3.
64	57	88	67	69	18	29	0	11	15	4.
18	5	25	33	20	0	24	0	0	6	5.
64	14	75	67	55	13	62	13	11	25	6.
13	14	25	22	18	32	33	12	22	25	7.
68	67	75	45	64	18	24	13	33	22	8.
23	10	25	22	20	23	9	13	22	17	9.
73	52	50	33	52	18	43	37	45	36	10.
68	81	75	33	64	9	19	0	34	16	11.
77	62	38	67	61	14	24	62	22	31	12.
73	71	87	45	69	18	24	13	22	19	13.
36	28	63	45	43	18	24	0	22	16	14.
64	81	87	78	77	13	14	13	11	13	15.
32	14	50	22	29	27	34	25	22	27	16.
59	67	100	56	70	14	28	0	33	19	17.
41	43	37	33	38	18	33	13	34	25	18.
23	14	37	44	29	13	43	13	45	29	19.
64	62	62	67	64	13	19	13	33	20	20.
59	67	87	78	73	23	19	0	11	13	21.

TABLE 2

Tasks with the Highest Percentage Mean in Each Category as Identified by the Total Sample

• As Identified by Subjects Whose Mothers Work Outside the Home

Man			Woman			Either		
•			•			•		
60%	74%	Fixing broken furniture	67%	77%	Cleaning the toilet	33%	36%	Grocery shopping
67%	69%	Painting walls	60%	73%	Washing pots and pans		30%	Cooking
67%	63%	Mowing lawns	80%	70%	Cleaning up after meals		29%	Cleaning garage or basement
60%	57%	Raking leaves	60%	69%	Washing windows		27%	Taking out trash
60%		Hanging drapes	80%	69%	Doing laundry	33%		Caring for sick child
			60%	68%	Making beds	33%		Making beds
			60%	64%	Mopping floors	33%		Painting walls
			67%	64%	Getting children ready			
			60%	64%	Dusting furniture			
			67%	61%	Cooking			
			53%	59%	Vacuuming			
				55%	Caring for sick child			
			60%	52%	Grocery shopping			

and a government worker, perceived all the tasks as being done by EITHER.

In the majority of tasks perceived as woman's work, a higher percentage of the two groups of female subjects responded in that manner than did their male counterparts.

Most notable deviations from the other responses were those of the four-year-old males. More of them tended to view more tasks as EITHER possibilities than did the other subject groups. This includes their view of painting walls, making beds, fixing broken furniture, and caring for a sick child. Their highest percentage of agreement was in the perception of mowing the lawn as predominantly a male task (81 percent) and mopping the floor and cleaning the toilet as predominantly female tasks (81 percent).

Discussion

The results of this study indicate that the majority of these impressionable, imitative youngsters who are influenced by their total environment perceive

the greater number of household tasks according to "traditional" role identification. According to the Aldous (1972) study, these perceptions arise more from outside sources than from parental example.

Among factors which may be responsible for perpetuating the image of woman as "household drudge" are television commercials and magazine advertisements. These sources ordinarily advertise products being used in household tasks by showing the "traditional" role figures. A possible explanation of children's perceptions of cooking and cleaning the toilet as a woman's task may be related to their predominant female contact during toilet training and early feeding experiences.

Since statistical projections for the next decade indicate that more women will continue to enter the U. S. work force each year, the tasks of homemaking must be viewed as familial rather than female/male responsibilities. Perceptions of sex role identification with specific tasks can only lead to injustice and frustration. If, as Grambs (1976) suggests, the education to the changing social scene is to begin early, all facets of young children's total environment must contribute to the cause.

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A Study of the Changes in Dimensions of Traditional Sex Roles for Mexican-Americans

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No one is sure of the total number of Mexican-Americans in the United States. The bulk of that number is clustered in five southwestern states: Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona and California. Their living conditions have been influenced by a number of factors including undereducation, underemployment, lifestyle, value system, ethnicity and culture. The family structure, for example, has been impacted upon by economic, social, legal, and educational forces.

Sex roles can only be understood within the context of the family structure. As the family structure has changed, so has the role of women within Mexican-American society. The purpose of this study was to identify changes that have taken place in the woman's role within this society. In order to understand these changes, a description of traditional Mexican-American family structure and function is presented. Then the methodology of the current study is described. Finally, the results and conclusions of the study are offered.

The Traditional Mexican-American Family

The family is the most valued institution in Mexican-American society. It is the major source of social identification. The Mexican-American family is a nuclear unit composed of the husband, wife, and children. The specificity of roles is reinforced by the denotative kinship terminology used by family members, compared with the community classificatory system operating in the inclusive kinship system.

A hierarchy exists within the family. The father has the superordinate role, with the mother next in importance. In the absence of the father, the oldest male becomes his surrogate and assumes the superordinate role. The females have a subordinate role in the family. Family members outside the nuclear unit (such as grandparents, aunts, uncles) play a superordinate role. The father considers their advice in his decisions.

The family is highly monogamic and strongly patriarchal (Queen and Habersterin, 1974). The father is the major authority in the family. He rules the household, makes decisions, and represents his family in community

and society as he arbitrates disputes and policy behavior. Men are considered superior, aggressive, insensitive and invulnerable, and thus powerful (Brussel, 1971). The wife and children unquestionably obey the father because he is considered to have superior strength and intelligence. These qualities entitle him to be above criticism and have an earned respect.

The family serves as the "training ground" for the roles the female child will play as an adult. She learns the responsibilities of managing a household. She works alongside her mother, caring for the younger siblings, cooking, and waiting on the men of the family. Her responsibility often includes caring for the younger children when she herself may be only five or six years of age (Brussel, 1971).

There has always been a demand for the cheap labor in America which immigrants have filled. Mexican-Americans work in the agricultural fields, mines, and railroad lines. Mexican-American women, who are not permitted to work outside the home as waitresses, maids, or laundry help, often work in the fields. Women are culturally protected but also exploited by the growers and male members of their families (Sanchez, 1977).

Like racism, sexism has been used as a basis of discrimination among the working class. Women have received lower pay than men for performing the same job, because women have been considered supplementary to men. Regardless of the kind of occupation, women have worked by the side of their husbands and sons. Society has assigned women a domestic role, where they take care of the family and home. Their confinement to the home has sustained the family structure. However, women still receive low wages even if they perform domestic-type tasks in food processing or clothing and textile manufacturing.

Government statistics on Mexican-American employment show that income is primarily determined by male workers. Women who work earn a meager income. In March 1975, the median income for Mexican-American men was $6,154 while the median income for Mexican-American women was $2,682.

As the Mexican-American population became urbanized, occupations changed. The 1975 statistics indicated that only 8 percent of the Mexican-American population was involved in agricultural work. The March 1974 *Current Labor Report* showed that one-fifth of the Mexican-American men held white collar jobs, although they were usually in the lowest positions, while 78.7 percent were in service and labor categories. Women were also affected by these occupational shifts.

The March 1974 *Current Labor Report* indicated that Mexican-American women's major occupations were clerical (27.5 percent), operatives (29.3 percent), and service (26.1 percent). The median income for Mexican-American women in service occupations was $1,834. In comparison to

female workers in the United States, there were fewer Mexican-American women in the white collar category but more in the blue collar and service worker categories. Mexican-American women's economic situation, like most women, has been one of dependency. However, minority women, because of their sex and origin, are still the lowest paid individuals.

Mexican-Americans have had limited educational opportunities. In March 1973, 36.5 percent of Mexican-Americans whose ages ranged from forty-five to sixty-four years old had completed less than five years of school, while only 8.8 percent whose ages ranged from twenty-five to twenty-nine had completed four years of high school or more (Rivera, 1976).

The adolescent peer group serves as an important function among Mexican-Americans. It gives them an identity and reinforces their values and attitudes. This peer group continues to be part of their social group even after marriage by becoming an extended family, serving functions such as godparents.

Another part of the social fabric is political participation, because political activity usually mobilizes a community. At any age level Mexican-Americans' participation in the electoral process and in running the government has varied by area and social class. Literacy in English has been an obstacle for some people, while others have refused to register to vote, because they believe their influence in the political process is relatively insignificant (Rivera, 1976). In this activity, as well as in the leadership activities, males have participated in leadership roles, thus implying that men are naturally superior to women.

Method

A volunteer pool of twelve adults (six males and six females) in the southwestern part of the United States participated in this study. Their ethnicity was Mexican-American and the mean age of the group was 66 years.

Most of the subjects' background information paralleled. They came from fairly similar communities; their incomes were low; their educations were below elementary grade level; and they were married and had grown children.

A relatively unstructured interview was developed to elicit information from the respondents. It was an open interview in which subjects were asked to compare the changes in the dimensions of the traditional sex roles which have occurred during the last ten years. The subjects were interviewed in Spanish to elicit their perceptions. Interviews varied in length depending on

the respondent. The interviews were tape recorded, the tapes were transcribed, the transcriptions were typed and translated, and the translations were typed.

Demographic information was also collected from the respondents through a questionnaire administered in Spanish.

Part of the study was phenomological, developing from the respondents' actual words a sense of the ways they perceived the changes in the dimensions of the traditional sex roles. The procedure was inductive content analysis, based on the typewritten interviews. Content analysis provided categories of responses for the roles. A category system was designed in order that, where possible, data could be grouped.

Results

From the content analysis, four categories were derived for the dimensions of the traditional sex roles which have changed during the last ten years: family, economy, education, and social authority.

Family

The family authority has always been very important. In the past the father was very strict with all of his children regardless of sex. Sometimes men were given a ten o'clock curfew, which they kept. Now, even the women return at three or four o'clock in the morning or do not return to their homes all night and nobody says anything about it.

Also, parents in the past always had authority over their children, regardless of the child's age or marital status. Parents had the right to punish children even if the parents were wrong. Now, once children reach eighteen years of age, they are free to do as they please. The transition from total authority by the family to liberation is a change which the subjects felt will lead to delinquency and loss of respect.

Economy

Today's cost of living has also necessitated changes. At one time men did not permit the women to work because it was considered the man's responsibility to support the family. Today both husbands and wives work and their combined salaries enable them to buy many things which they did not have in the past.

Another factor of economics which has changed is that now people receive economic aid. The government helps the people through food stamps and welfare. Also, child support is often available. Although there are certain restrictions in obtaining this aid, some are able to receive it.

Education

The participants attributed the major changes in economics to education. Now people are more educated and thus able to get better jobs with better pay. In the past, men and women had to work in the fields because they did not have any skills. Now they have a career. This is a major change especially for women whose major role in the past had been to stay at home and take care of the children and the men.

Today there are many opportunities for people who want to get an education. Government programs help students through grants, financial loans, and work-study jobs. When people had to pay their own way to school, many were not able to afford it. Also the admissions criteria were so stringent that because of unreliable and invalid test scores, many Mexican-Americans were not admitted into institutions of higher learning.

Education has also improved in the public school system. Now there are more schools available, and a truant officer checks to see that students attend. The government is also providing several programs to facilitate learning and encourage attendance, including additional schools and transportation.

The participants attributed some of the changes to education. Now that people are better educated and have a better economic life, their position helps them to influence the government to provide better educational programs. However, there is a negative aspect in that students have little respect for their teachers. The people have become so involved in the educational movement that if the teachers try to discipline their pupils, the mothers get together and sign a petition to have the teachers fired.

Social Authority

A major change in social authority has been the degree of respect which women are getting now as compared to what they had before. Women used to belong to the men who could punish them or do whatever they wanted without interference. Now women's rights are protected by law.

Discussion

An understanding of these dimensions of sex roles is essential because it gives insight to the children's culture and values. Educators need to understand and be aware of any changes that have taken place in these roles throughout the years. The consequences of these changes are important in the classroom because it helps the teacher to provide appropriate instruction to (1) break up stereotypes, (2) provide an understanding of the contemporary family structure, and (3) assist the children in making the transition from home to school.

An understanding of people requires an awareness of their familial roles.

These roles vary based on the family's basic human needs, the way people view the family, and on the various family functions which are designated by society. The rules set out by society and particular interest groups within it have influenced cultural groups to maintain or to change existing roles within their culture.

In the future, the sex roles in Mexican-American families will continue to change toward equalization of women's status. For this reason it is essential that more research be conducted to monitor these changes. Hopefully, future studies will contribute further knowledge on the participation of the Mexican-American women in social, political, and economic life of society.

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Developmental Aspects of Occupational Reasoning and Perceptions of Career Options of Third and Sixth Graders

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Career awareness is a continuous process which begins in early childhood and extends throughout the course of one's life. It begins in the home as the preschool child acquires parental values and attitudes toward the world of work (Resnick and Smith, 1979).

The conceptualization of career awareness as a developmental process has been acknowledged by a number of researchers (Vondracek and Kirchner, 1974; Looft, 1971; Borow, 1964). Van den Daele (1968) combined aspects of Kohlberg's (1966) cognitive developmental theory and Loevinger's (1966) ego theory to develop a model of the "ego ideal," the internal standard by which an individual measures him/herself. Van den Daele's ego ideal includes occuptional, social, material, community, and body goals. Nelson (1978) investigated the application of Van den Daele's model of the ego ideal to children's vocational aspirations and found that developmental changes in reasoning processes underlie the course of vocational thinking in young children. The ability of children to conceive of themselves as someday having adult status and to think of themselves in a propositional manner increases with age (Vondracek and Kirchner, 1974) and is related to cognitive development (Van den Daele, 1968).

Previous research by Looft (1971), Iglitzin (1972), and Barclay (1974) has supported the notion of sex differences in vocational choice. All of these reseachers reported a wider range of career choices among boys. The narrower range of choices perceived by girls has been attributed to realistic social perceptions (Looft, 1971). Shepard and Hess (1974), however, found elementary school girls to be less conventional than boys in occupational ratings, implying greater conformity among boys. Lee and Groper (1974) contend that girls participate with greater ease in activities associated with males than vice versa. These studies appear to contradict traditional notions of females as conforming and conservative, and suggest that girls are more bicultural than boys.

The purpose of the present study was to investigate age and sex differences in third and sixth grade students' choices and reasoning processes

concerning their own career aspirations and cross-sex occupational choices. It was hypothesized that: (1) reasoning concerning career aspirations would exhibit qualitative changes with age, (2) levels of reasoning would not vary with sex, and (3) career choices would vary with sex. The investigation also explored parental and bicultural influences in children's occupational choices.

Method

Subjects

Forty-four children, 22 third graders and 22 sixth graders, evenly divided by sex, served as subjects for the study. The subjects were randomly selected from seven classrooms in a large elementary school in Maryland. The elementary school was identified for this study for two reasons: (1) a broad range of socio-economic levels was represented in the school population, and (2) career orientation was not a part of the curriculum and no formal career orientation program had ever taken place in the school.

Procedure

Subjects were individually interviewed by one of three investigators; the interviews took place in a comfortable private room in the elementary school. Each investigator interviewed students of each sex from each grade level. The interview was structured but allowed for questioning of children's reasoning. Prior to the interview, the interviewer said, "I would like to talk to you about what you would like to do when you grow up. Do you ever think about that? . . . I'm also going to ask you questions about jobs or careers for men and women. There are no right or wrong answers—I'm just interested in what you think."

The interview consisted of 21 questions. A form for females and one for males was developed to allow subjects to initially respond to a series of questions about the opposite sex. The interview consisted of three sections.

Section 1 was designed to elict responses about vocational aspirations: (1) What job would you like to have when you grow up? (2) Why did you choose _____? (3) Why do you think being a _____ would be a good job? (4) What do you think would be the best job for a (opposite sex) to have when _____ grows up? (5) Why did you choose _____? (6) Why do you think being a _____ would be a good job for a (opposite sex)?

Section 2 was designed to elicit information about parental career influence: (7) Does your father work? (8) What does he do? (9) Does your mother have a job outside the home? (For clarity, students who answered "no" were asked "Does your mother work at home for pay?" This resulted in several additional responses such as "babysits every day for neighbor's child.") (10) What does your mother do?

Section 3 was designed to elicit information about the subject's knowledge of career options for adults. Questions 11-15 were asked about the subject's own sex and questions 16-20 were asked about the opposite sex. Before each set of questions the interviewer said, "Now I am going to ask you some questions about different kinds of jobs for women/men." The basic questions for items 11-20 were:

What do you think would be the most exciting job a woman/man could have for helping other people?

What do you think would be the most dangerous job for a woman/man to have?

Of all the jobs you can think of for a woman/man, what job do you think would be most enjoyable or the most fun?

Of all the jobs you can think of for a woman/man, what job do you think would pay the most money?

Following each question, 11-20, the investigator asked "Why?" in order to probe for reasoning. The interviewer concluded with: Do you think you will like working when you grow up? Why or Why not?

At the conclusion of the interview, the subjects were thanked and the interviewer said, "Please don't tell the other students what we talked about . . . it will spoil it for them. If anyone asks you about it, you can tell them we had an interesting talk, O.K.?"

Data Analysis and Results

Interview data for questions designed to probe the subject's reasoning for selecting occupational roles were categorized according to Van den Daele's (1968) levels of reasoning (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1

Van den Daele's Levels of Reasoning

Levels of Reasoning	Characteristics
1	characterized by fantasy and excitation, magical thinking, powerful or glamorous figures.
2	characterized by dichotomous thinking, orientation to the adult as the "controller of resources," to be or act like same-sex parent is good.
3	characterized by emulation of parents or same-sex peers, choose "for fun."
4	characterized by conformity to externalized aspects of sex-role behavior and occupation, performance is expected to result in achievement of goals, behavior is defined in terms of concrete actions.

5 characterized by orientation to peer group behavior, be like others, cliche oriented, notion that achievement takes time.

6 characterized by orientation to adult social expectations and evaluations, concern for fairness and mutuality, knowledge of specified requirements to achieve goals.

7 characterized by duty and responsibility as defined by society, self-interest and socially defined good often coincide, recognition of personal limitation.

8 characterized by orientation to unique values, beliefs and preferences of the self, specific statement of plan of action to reach goal.

9 characterized by orientation to principles derived from consideration of self-society relationships.

10 characterized by orientation to philosophy or world view superordinate to self-interest or social value.

Table I, showing frequency and means of the subjects' responses according to Van den Daele's levels of reasoning, divided by age and sex, shows levels of reasoning tended to increase with age. A t-test to determine significance of sex difference was statistically significant for the third grade sample ($t(20) = 2.31$, $p < .05$). Comparing third graders to sixth graders, analysis of variance indicated statistically non-significant differences for grade and sex.

TABLE I

Frequency of Levels of Occupational Reasoning for Third and Sixth Grade Boys and Girls

GIRLS			BOYS		
	3rd Grade	6th Grade		3rd Grade	6th Grade
Level	(n = 11)	(n = 11)	Level	(n = 11)	(n = 11)
Level 1	1	0	Level 1	0	0
Level 2	1	0	Level 2	3	1
Level 3	2	1	Level 3	6	3
Level 4	2	1	Level 4	0	0
Level 5	3	3	Level 5	0	5
Level 6	2	4	Level 6	2	2
no response	0	2			
Means	4.0*	4.18	Means	3.272*	4.36

Total Means: 3rd Grade 3.63; 6th Grade 4.27

*Significant at the .05 level

Table II, showing frequency and means of the subject's cross-sex responses according to Van den Daele's levels of reasoning, divided by age and sex also shows levels of cross-sex occupational reasoning tended to increase with age. Analysis using a 2 (grade level) × 2 (sex) × 2 (career choice, self/cross-sex) factorial designed with career choice being a repeated measure yielded significant results for grade ($p < .05$) and for career choice ($p < .01$). This supports the condition that reasoning processes for cross-sex occupational choices are less "mature" than self-choices.

TABLE II

Cross-Sex Frequency of Levels of Occupational Reasoning for Third and Sixth Grade Boys and Girls

GIRLS			BOYS		
	3rd Grade	6th Grade		3rd Grade	6th Grade
Level	(n = 11)	(n = 11)	Level	(n = 11)	(n = 11)
Level 1	1		Level 1	1	
Level 2	6	2	Level 2	3	
Level 3	1	2	Level 3	7	4
Level 4	0	3	Level 4	0	4
Level 5	0	1	Level 5	0	
Level 6	1	1	Level 6	0	1
Level 7	0	1	Level 7	0	0
No response	2	1	No response	0	2
Means	2.0	3.45	Means	2.545	3.09

Total Means: 3rd Grade 2.27; 6th Grade 3.27

Examination of the occupational choices of third graders in Table III reveals a total of six different occupational roles mentioned by girls and seven occupational roles mentioned by boys. Sixth grade girls mentioned eight occupational roles and boys mentioned nine occupational roles. The data from this study do not support the trend identified in previous research (Vondracek and Kirchner, 1974; Looft, 1971) toward a much wider *range* of occupational choices among boys. It is of interest to note that at both third grade and sixth grade levels approximately 50 percent of the occupational roles identified by girls could be classified as non-traditional. As might be expected 100 percent of the occupational choices of boys were traditional occupational roles.

TABLE III

Frequency of Occupational Choices of Third and Sixth Grade Boys and Girls

Response to question: What job would you like to have when *you* grow up?

GIRLS			BOYS		
	3rd Grade	6th Grade		3rd Grade	6th Grade
	(n = 11)	(n = 11)		(n = 11)	(n = 11)
teacher	5	2	athletics	3	2
*jockey	2	0	policeman	2	0
*doctor	0	2	fisherman	2	0
*truck driver	0	2	lawyer	0	2
nurse	1	1	carpenter	0	2
*veterinarian	1	1	doctor	1	1
*motorcycle racer	1	0	insurance agent	1	0
*zoologist	1	0	rock singer	1	1
secretary	0	1	truck driver	1	0
model	0	1	psychologist	0	1
*architect	0	1	mechanic	0	1
			architect	0	1
			bricklayer	0	1

*non-traditional

In Table IV the cross-sex occupational choices for third and sixth grade boys and girls are presented. Third grade girls identified seven occupational roles for boys and third grade boys identified six occupational roles for girls. Sixth grade girls identified nine occupational roles for boys and sixth grade boys identified eight occupational roles for girls. The range of cross-sex occupational roles identified by boys and girls does not appear to differ by sex; however, there is a slight trend indicating that the range of both occupational roles and cross-sex roles increases with age. Only one non-traditional role was reported as a cross-sex occupational choice; a sixth grade girl responded that "housecleaning . . . being a maid" would be best for a boy. When asked why she chose being a maid she replied, "It would be good to let them see how hard it is to clean house." The remaining cross-sex responses for both boys and girls were traditional.

The responses to questions 11–15 and 16–20 were coded as traditional and non-traditional and tallied in percentages (see Tables V and VI), yielding 55 responses for same sex occupational roles and 55 responses for opposite occupational roles at each grade level. Thirty-two percent of the responses made by third grade girls about jobs for women were nontraditional and 49 percent

TABLE IV

Frequency of Cross-Sex Occupational Choices of Third and Sixth Grade Boys and Girls

Response to question: What do you think would be the best job for a boy/girl to have when he/she grows up?

GIRLS			BOYS		
	3rd Grade	6th Grade		3rd Grade	6th Grade
	(n = 11)	(n = 11)		(n = 11)	(n = 11)
athletics	3	0	waitress	4	0
doctor	2	3	nurse	3	2
construction worker	1	1	babysitter	1	0
business manager	1	1	secretary	1	2
jockey	1	0	*doctor	*1	0
service station attendant	1	0	housewife	1	0
carpenter	1	0	teacher	0	2
truck driver	0	1	librarian	0	1
fireman	0	1	maid	0	1
mechanic	0	1	hairdresser	0	1
electrician		1	bank teller	0	1
*maid		*1	"nothing"	0	1
"nothing"	1	1			

*non-traditional

of the responses made by third grade boys about jobs for women were non-traditional. All of the jobs identified by third grade girls for men were traditional and 96 percent of the jobs identified by third grade boys for men were traditional.

At the sixth grade level 44 percent of the responses given by girls about jobs for women were non-traditional and 44 percent of the responses given by boys about jobs for women were non-traditional. Seven percent of the sixth grade boys' responses about jobs for men were non-traditional and 2 percent of the girls' responses about jobs for men were non-traditional.

Data collected concerning the occupations of the subjects' parents were compared to the job roles identified by each subject for themselves and for the opposite sex. Of the 44 subjects involved in the study, 11 identified job roles for themselves or for the opposite sex which were identical to the occupation of one of the parents.

TABLE V

Percentages of Traditional and Non-Traditional Occupational Choices of Third and Sixth Grade Boys and Girls

GIRLS			BOYS		
	3rd Grade	6th Grade		3rd Grade	6th Grade
Traditional	68%	56%	Traditional	96%	93%
Non-Traditional	32%	44%	Non-Traditional	4%	7%

TABLE VI

Percentages of Traditional and Non-Traditional Cross-Sex Occupational Choices of Third and Sixth Grade Boys and Girls

GIRLS			BOYS		
	3rd Grade	6th Grade		3rd Grade	6th Grade
Traditional	100%	98%	Traditional	51%	56%
Non-Traditional	—	2%	Non-Traditional	49%	44%

Discussion

This study investigated developmental changes in reasoning processes that underlie vocational thinking and career options perceived by third and sixth grade children.

Reasoning Concerning Career Aspirations

The results of this study support the contentions of Nelson (1978) concerning the developmental nature of the reasoning processes that underlie the cause of vocational thinking in children. Examples of reasoning at various levels will help to illustrate qualitative differences among responses.

Level 1. Subjects chose occupations involving speed, motion and power. One subject, for example wanted to be a motorcyclist because you "go fast," illustrating magical, capricious thinking.

Level 2. Subjects chose occupations reflecting parental occupations. One child said he wanted to be a mechanic—"just like my dad." This stage is characterized by a strong orientation to the adult, particularly the parent, as a "controller of resources."

Level 3. Subjects chose occupations for "fun," "to make a lot of money," and to "help people." At this level children are becoming aware of means and ends and their thinking is more pragmatic.

Level 4. Subjects chose occupations because of some knowledge about concrete details of the selected occupation. One subject chose being an architect because "I like to draw," another subject wanted to be a teacher "because you check children's papers and help them learn." Occupational reasoning at this level is defined in terms of concrete actions and products.

Level 5. Subjects chose occupations to satisfy personal needs and interests. Several boys chose athletics because of expressed competence reflected in comments such as "I'm tough," or "I'm good at it," or "It's my favorite pastime." One girl chose being a teacher saying, "I want to teach first grade because I like little kids."

Level 6. Subjects chose occupations oriented to adult expectations. A boy wanted to be a psychiatrist because "I like helping people with their problems"; another wanted to be a lawyer saying, "I'd like to help innocent people"; a girl chose being a nurse saying, "I want to help sick people get well."

Level 7. Subjects chose occupations concerned with duties and responsibilities as defined by society. One girl wanted to be a scientist because "you would need to have lots of knowledge and you might be able to find a solution to the gas crisis."

No subject was judged to above level 7. Levels 8, 9 and 10 represent higher level reasoning and are rarely attained even by adults.

The findings of this study support Van den Daele's levels of occupational reasoning in young children. It is important that curriculum developers, in developing career awareness programs, consider the implications of children's reasoning abilities. Teachers and parents need to be aware of children's responses which indicate a maturing knowledge about the world of work.

Of particular note is the finding, consistent with that of Nelson (1978) that third grade girls' occupational reasoning is more mature than that of third grade boys. Examination of the data obtained in that study revealed no insights concerning plausable explanations for the sex differences in the occupational reasoning at third grade level. Sex differences in occupational reasoning merit further research.

Nelson's (1978) hypothesis that reasoning processes for cross-sex occupational choices are less mature than self-choices was supported (see Table II).

Third grade reasoning about cross-sex occupational choices tended to be less mature than sixth graders which is consistent with Piaget's developmental stages reflecting the egocentric nature of young children's thinking (Piaget, 1952).

Occupational Choices

Examination of the occupational choice data did not support the finding of earlier studies (Looft, 1971; Iglitzin, 1972; Barclay, 1974; Nelson, 1978) which reported a wider range of occupational choices among boys. The range of occupational choices in the study for both third and sixth grade boys and girls were comparable. The large number of non-traditional career roles identified by both third and sixth grade girls supports the trend observed by Nelson (1978). Cross-sex occupational choices indicate both boys and girls are traditional in their career choices for the opposite sex when responding to a single question such as, "What would be a good job for a girl/boy to have when they grow up?"

A unique feature of this study was the probing of same and cross-sex occupational choices in order to determine the range of career options of which children are aware. When children are encouraged to think about jobs which are exciting, helpful, dangerous, enjoyable and financially rewarding, boys responded with a greater percentage of non-traditional job choices for females than did girls. This study indicates that initial questioning of boys about careers for girls elicits very traditional responses; however, when their thinking is probed, boys do appear to perceive girls in a wide range of non-traditional careers.

This finding suggests there may be great value in probing the thinking of young children with respect to career perceptions and that initial questions about career expectations may be misleading. This study indicates that probing may reaveal that young children, and particularly boys, may percieve a greater range of non-traditional occupations for the opposite sex than previous research had indicated (Nelson, 1978).

Finally, research on young children and their occupational reasoning and choices should take parental occupations into consideration. Twenty-five percent of the subjects in this study gave occupational choices which were the same as the occupation of one of their parents.

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The Effect of the Use of the Generic *He* or *She* on the Recall of Written Discourse

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At a special conference convened to examine the subject of sex role bias, Dr. Sharon Lord, consultant and advocate for women's equity, discussed the linguistic subtleties that foster sexual inequality in our society. According to Dr. Lord, perhaps the most common form of linguistic subtlety is the use of the generic *he*—one of the most serious and debilitating contrivances to which female persons have ever been subjected (Lord, Note 1).

At a very young age, children learn to differentiate linguistically between male and female persons by the selection and use of the appropriate pronoun. However, as soon as children appear to have internalized this concept, they are introduced to new and conflicting information. They are exposed to the generic *he* and taught to use *he* to represent an unspecified referent which may be either male or female. This introduction and use of a generic referent produces concept ambiguity when no clear contextual clue is offered. Consequently, the listener/reader can only *infer* the exact referent of the pronoun used, resulting in the creation of an uncertainty in the conceptual image evoked by the listener/reader. As the ambiguity is increased, the likelihood of misinterpretation increases correspondingly.

As an example of this concept ambiguity, Dr. Lord presented a brief description of an informal study conducted at the University of Tennessee where course information was presented in the generic *she* framework. The results of the study indicated that students expressed great confusion in processing the information presented. They indicated that their frustration was due to the ambiguity surrounding the use of the generic *she* (Lord, Note 1).

If the use of the generic *she* results in interference in the processing of auditorily presented information, it is important to determine empirically if such interference occurs in the processing of all information—whether it is received through auditory or visual channels. Therefore it was the purpose of this study to investigate the effect of the use of the generic *he* or *she* on the recall of written discourse.

It was hypothesized that if the use of the generic *she* did indeed interfere with the processing of information, then this interference would be demonstrated by a comparison of the amount of recall for an equivalent

he—she passage of written discourse. It was further hypothesized that this difference in the amount of recall would be exhibited after a week's interval.

Subjects

For this study, the subjects consisted of 33 undergraduate students enrolled in an introductory reading methods course at the University of Maryland. There were 2 male and 31 female subjects.

Materials and Design

Two 175-word passages on the subject of the professional athlete were developed for use in this study. The two passages differed only in nouns and pronouns that were sex-specific. Passage I, hereafter referred to as the *he* passage, follows:

The Professional Athlete

In the world today, the professional athlete has reached an all-time high in his level of public acclaim. It frequently appears as if the athletic superstar is considered more of a hero by his viewing public as his counterparts in the fields of politics, education, and medicine. But who is this professional and what are his contributions to mankind? Has he ever produced a cure for disease; has he ever resolved a national crisis; or has he ever formulated a new theory that stimulated the minds of men? Yet, the public seems far more in awe of the man who holds an official sports' record than the man who unravels the causes or cures for a serious disease. The public is far more likely to identify the face of a professional sportsman and recount his achievement than they are to identify the chairman of one of the world's most powerful conglomerates whose decisions have a direct bearing on the nation's economic stability.

Passage II, hereafter referred to as the *she* passage, follows:

The Professional Athlete

In the world today, the professional athlete has reached an all-time high in her level of public acclaim. It frequently appears as if the athletic superstar is considered more of a heroine by her viewing public as her counterparts in the fields of politics, education and medicine. But who is this professional and what are her contributions to womankind? Has she ever produced a cure for disease; has she ever resolved a national crisis; or has she ever formulated a new theory that stimulated the minds of women? Yet, the public seems far more in awe of the woman who holds an official sports' record than the woman who unravels the causes or cures for a serious

> disease. The public is far more likely to identify the face of a professional sportswoman and recount her achievements than they are to identify the chairwoman of one of the world's most powerful conglomerates whose decisions have a direct bearing on the nation's economic stability.

Two experienced judges parsed the passages into 19 idea units. An idea unit was defined as a "single, meaningful piece of information conveyed by the passage, whether it consisted of a word, a definition, or a phrase in the passage" (Meyer, 1977b, p. 315). The raters were in agreement on 95 percent of the individual idea units. Differences were resolved in conference.

Procedure

The subjects were randomly assigned to one of the two treatment groups. They were told that they were participating in a study concerned with how people think about and remember stories. They were then given a booklet containing the directions for the task, one of the two treatment passages, an intervening arithmetic computation task, and pages on which to write the information recalled.

The subjects read the treatment passage silently for two minutes. They then worked on an intervening task of division computation which lasted four minutes. The subjects were instructed, "Please write down as much of the exact story as you can on these sheets of paper. If you cannot remember the exact words of any sentence, but you do remember the meaning, write down a sentence or part of a sentence as close to the original as possible." Upon completion of the recall task, the subjects were instructed that "you have finished with this phase of the study. In order for us to acquire accurate results, please do not discuss this study with anyone until you have been debriefed next week."

One week later, the same subjects were given the same instructions for the recall task as they had received the previous week. A debriefing questionnaire was completed by each subject at the conclusion of the study.

Scoring

Each protocol was scored for the presence or absence of the 19 idea units by two independent raters. "Recall was scored here by comparing each subject's recall protocol with the proposition list for that sentence and deciding for each proposition whether or not it was fully expressed in the protocol regardless of whether it was expressed in the same form as in the original text or it was paraphrased" (Kintsch, 1977, p. 236). Inter-rater reliability was .97. Discrepancies in scores were submitted to a third rater for judgement. For each protocol, a score representing the total number of idea units recalled was computed.

Results

The number of idea units recalled for *he* and *she* passages were submitted to a t-test for dependent samples to determine if the differences between the number of idea units recalled on day 1 and day 8 were significant. For the *he* passage, $t\,(14) = -4.90$ ($p<.01$). For the *she* passage, $t\,(17) = 5.57$ ($p<.01$). A t-test for independent samples was computed to determine if the number of differences in the idea units recalled on each day between the treatment groups were significant. For day 1, $t\,(31) = .48$ ($p<.05$). For day 8, $t\,(31) = 1.65$ ($p<.05$).

TABLE I

Means and Standard Deviations of Total Idea Units Recalled

	Recall Protocols			
Groups	Same-day D_1		Week-delay D_2	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
He	4.53	2.10	2.73	1.75
She	4.22	1.56	1.83	1.38

Discussion

As would be expected from the results of prior research (*e.g.*, Anderson, Pichert and Shirey, 1970; Meyer, 1977a; Pichert and Anderson, 1977), the number of idea units recalled dropped significantly over a one-week interval for both the *he* and *she* treatment groups. However, the lack of significance in the number of idea units recalled between the *he* and *she* groups on either day fails to support the hypothesis that the use of the generic *she* interferes with the processing of text as determined by written protocol.

Implications

Though there was no significant difference in the mean number of idea units recalled between the *he* and *she* treatment groups on either the same day or week-delay recall tasks, qualitative analysis of the data appears to indicate some alteration in the sex-specific words in the *she* passage. Further analysis of the data is needed to confirm this hypothesis.

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Career Awareness in Preschool Classrooms

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The Women's Educational Equity Act of 1978 states that:

> *The Congress finds and declares that educational programs in the United States as presently conducted are frequently inequitable as such programs relate to women and frequently limit the full participation of all individuals in American society.*

This stated recognition that current educational programs limit the potential of the female population is a critical step in the pursuit of educational equity for women in many areas of endeavor. Hopefully, recognition will lead to action in overcoming many barriers women and girls now face.

A significant realm in which limitations are sharply noted is that of occupations or vocational choices. According to recent Bureau of the Census statistics (1980), women make up over 40 percent of the U.S. work force. By 1995, it is projected that this number will increase to 46 percent. Females are concentrated in a few occupational groups: clerical (35 percent), service (21 percent), professional technical (16 percent), and operatives (11 percent). These occupations are those with lower pay, lower status, and lower recognition.

Women working full-time, year round, had median earnings of $8,620 in 1977; comparable men earned $14,630. There seem to be few indications that women are moving into some of the occupations traditionally held by men (Bureau of Census, 1980).

Currently, ways to overcome the sex stereotyping of occupations are being pursued by various individuals and organizations. Programs for women of various age groups have been developed to enlighten and create an awareness of various career options. Unfortunately, the information often comes too late in life for many women. The foundations and preparation for many careers require a lengthy time span.

Leifer and Lesser (1976) have stressed that career inequity can only be overcome through changes in aspirations, education, and stereotypes. They state that there must be a move toward consideration of career options which are now unfamiliar or invisible to the female population in this country. To accomplish this, they believe that attention must be directed at the

early years in a child's life when occupational knowledge and sex role attitudes are just being formed.

A few programs have aimed at the preschool years (Klein, 1980). There are those who realize that parents and teachers of preschool children have a tremendous influence on career development, an impact which cannot be replicated at a later date. One way parents and teachers can influence children is through educational materials, such as books, games, and toys. Preschoolers should have an awareness of the occupations which exist in society, the types of activities people in these occupations perform, and the kinds of skills which are needed for various occupations. Books, records, games, and other materials in the home and school contribute to children's knowledge of what are appropriate roles for males and females in the world of work.

Sometimes educational materials are stereotyped to such an extent that children do not gain adequate and realistic information about careers. An analysis of sex role stereotyping in 80 randomly selected K-12 and postsecondary career education materials showed that only a small portion supported nontraditional work for women (Women on Words and Images, 1975). Thus, stereotyped materials may eliminate consideration of many careers for females.

It was the aim of the present study to assess whether career education materials currently being used in preschool classrooms are stereotyped. Are teachers still using materials which present female workers in an inequitable manner? The need for career awareness materials which are free of sex role stereotyping seems mandatory if equity in the world of work is to be achieved. Career education of preschoolers must promote the idea of freedom of choice limited only by the interests of the individual.

If stereotyped materials are currently being used in classrooms, appropriate teacher training must be initiated to create an awareness of sex biases in educational materials and the impact such materials have on children's future career choices. Teachers need sufficient information and criteria to guide them as they select appropriate career education materials.

Procedures

In this study, career awareness materials were examined in twenty classrooms in suburban middle class school settings in two eastern states. Day care, nursery, and kindergarten classrooms were included in the sample. Career education materials were defined as those which provided information on types of careers, activities which various workers perform, and training needed to perform various jobs. Pictures, puzzles, books, and games were some of the types of educational materials examined. An informal instrument was devised for examining each item.

Three basic concerns guided the examination of the materials: 1) What types of career education materials are most often used in preschool classrooms? 2) Do these materials portray women in the work force with the same frequency in which they are representative (at least 40 percent of the work force)? 3) Do the materials being used in preschool classrooms primarily portray women in traditionally female occupations? Percentages were calculated to display data concerning these questions.

Results

Types of Materials

The types of materials most often used to teach career awareness in the classrooms surveyed were those shown in Table I.

TABLE I
Types of Materials Found In Preschool Classrooms

Type	*Percent*
Books	38.7
Puzzles	32.3
Figures	12.9
Posters	8.1
Records	4.8
Games	3.2
Total	100.0

Books and puzzles were the educational materials most often used in instruction about careers. Books which children look at or have read to them and puzzles which they manipulate accounted for 39 percent and 32 percent respectively of the materials found in the classrooms. The books described various careers or work done in certain occupations; the puzzles usually pictorially portrayed a worker with the appropriate tools or dress associated with the career. One other material, figures of workers (usually made of wood, plastic, or paper) accounted for 13 percent of the materials. Overall, as seen in Table I, these three materials made up 84 percent of all career education materials found in the preschool classrooms. The high usage of these three types of materials makes it extremely crucial that such materials effectively portray a nonstereotyped view of occupational involvement of workers.

Percent of Work Force

If over 40 percent of the work force is composed of females, it would be expected that when workers are represented in materials, 40 percent would

be women. If workers are shown as primarily male, children will probably form the concept that only men work outside the home or have outside occupations. This is an unrealistic view of the work force as it exists today and as indications are it will be in the future.

The analysis of the data in this study revealed that many of the materials fell significantly short of portraying women in representative numbers. Table II shows the percentages of women represented in the work force in each type of material.

TABLE II

Percentages of Women Represented in Materials

Type	*Work Force Representation (Percent)*
Books	18.3
Puzzles	18.9
Figures	31.4
Records	37.0
Games	40.0
Posters	46.9

As displayed in the table, the books, puzzles, and figures examined fell far short of reaching the 40 percent portrayal of women in the work force. As previously noted, these same materials were those found to be most prevalently used in the classrooms to present career information to children.

Traditional and Nontraditional Careers

Of the female workers shown in the materials, overall approximately half were shown in nontraditional careers for women. Table III shows percentages by type of material.

TABLE III

Traditional Career Representation

Type of Material	*Traditional (Percent)*	*Nontraditional (Percent)*
Puzzles	71.4	28.6
Books	57.7	42.3
Figures	56.3	43.7
Games	50.0	50.0
Records	40.0	60.0
Posters	26.1	73.9

As seen in the table, puzzles showed women in traditonal roles 71 percent of the time, while the posters examined showed women in traditional roles only 26 percent of the time.

Discussion

Just because new career awareness products free of sex biases are on the market does not guarantee that these materials are being purchased by teachers for their classes. This study points out that many of the materials currently in use do not present women in the proportion which is evident in the actual work force. In fact, the materials used most often were those found to be most biased.

Since the use of such stereotyped materials can have detrimental effects on the concepts preschool boys and girls form about the world of work, steps should be taken to carefully evaluate the material in preschool classrooms. Teachers should be assisted in appropriately selecting bias-free materials. Teacher training may be needed to create an awareness of the serious career consequences such stereotyped materials may have on boys and girls.

Criteria for selecting career education materials for these early years should include items relating to equity of representation of women in the work force.

Publishers and manufacturers should be made aware of those educational items which currently are inequitable in career presentations. Books and puzzles are two key products which could be targets for more equitable presentation of careers.

Creating an awareness on the part of preschool teachers and publishers will hopefully be a significant step in achieving equity in the world of work. It is critical that children use materials which present women in the proper perspective in regard to participation in the work force. When exposed to such materials, children should grow up to choose those careers which are of most interest to them. Unrealistic barriers will not be created because of the sex bias associated with various careers.

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A New Male Image in Picture Books: Redefining Masculinity

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During the decade from 1970 to 1980, over 24,000 children's books were published in the United States. The authors and illustrators involved in the creation of these works have attempted to address themselves in a variety of ways to the world of children. They deliver to a welcoming audience a view of a world peopled with real and imaginary characters engaged in many situations and activities.

Many of the authors who write for young children have chosen to write about activities and events that are well within the realm of the experience and imagination of their audience. Although the majority of these books seek to entertain and were written primarily for enjoyment, many other messages, both subtle and blatant, are contained within their covers. According to Huck (1979):

> *The literature available to children reflects the attitudes of society in that period. Books for children have always been viewed as instruments for transmitting the mores of the culture and for inculcating attitudes and values.*

One of the strongest forces advocating change in the society during the past decade is embodied in what has been variously referred to as the Women's Movement, Women's Liberation, or the Feminist Movement. Although not easy to define, most Americans have been made aware of this phenomenon at some level of their consciousness. It is generally accepted that an important issue identified by this movement addresses the role definitions that affect and direct the socialization of females and males in the society. Most discussions of these roles involve some listing of traditional roles assigned to men and women, particularly those perceived as sterotypical and limiting. Assumptions that masculinity as a trait is inherently male and femininity inherently female permeate conventional thinking and writing. It is generally held that those roles assigned to males should be masculine in nature and those assigned to females should be feminine. These assumptions are now being challenged.

Historically, children have been channeled toward masculinity or femininity on the basis of gender and have been rewarded for their "accomplishments" accordingly. During the last decade, early childhood

educators and other professionals involved with young children have been introduced to the concept of "non-sexism" which, in part, attempts to break down the barriers created by the conventionally accepted socialization processes. In particular, those positive attributes associated with masculinity--assertiveness, rationality, achievement, intelligence, independence—and those associated with femininty—tenderness, affection, compassion, sensitivity, cooperation—are now perceived as acceptable and desirable for all people. Children are being encouraged to develop into "whole persons" capable of exhibiting a wide variety of behaviors which were heretofore acceptable to only one sex or the other. The negative attributes of masculinity and femininity are rejected altogether.

Many of the children's books written in the past decade demonstrate this new awareness and have been labelled as "non-sexist" children's books. The women's movement has had a positive effect on the children's publishing industry. Publishers have responded with varying degrees of success to the demand for books which present members of both sexes in positive ways. The following bibliography attempts to demonstrate one such response. The presentation of males, particularly adult males, in situations formerly reserved for females has begun. Picture books, with their heavy emphasis on illustrations, provide an excellent opportunity for presenting males pictorially as warm, caring, and sensitive in their interactions and relationships with children. The books contained in this list are a representative sample of the recent publications which reflect a growing awareness of the need to present males as "whole persons." Although written primarily for young children, they have value for older children and adults in that they have the potential to provide insight for all people struggling to create a more open and positive society.

Annotated Bibliography

Adoff, Arnold. *Brown is Black is Tan.* Illustrated by Emily McCully. Harper and Row, 1973.

A delightful prose poem of an interracial family. Mother and father share equally in nurturing activities. Father is shown hugging, kissing, pulling a wagon, cooking, building a snowman, reading to, and bathing his children. McCully's illustrations show a close loving family engaged in day-to-day activities.

Armitage, Ronda and David Armitage. *Don't Forget, Matilda!* Andre Deutsch, 1978.

A cautionary tale about two days in the life of Matilda Bear. Mother works, Father stays at home. He is pictured doing dishes, grocery shopping, and getting ready for an outing, all with his daughter Matilda. The relation-

ship between father and child is presented as comfortable, easy-going, and natural.

Blaine, Marge. *The Terrible Thing That Happened At Our House.* Illustrated by John C. Wallner. Parent's Magazine Press, 1975.

Told from a child's point of view,this amusing book recounts the adjustment of a family when the mother returns to work. The ensuing confusion causes the main character to long for a "real" mother and father. Her description of what constitutes "real" is an excellent statement of the stereotypical roles of mother and father. After a family meeting where problems and feelings are discussed, family roles are redefined and adjustments are made. Father is shown marketing, cooking, doing laundry, reading to, and playing games with his children.

Byars, Betsy. *Go and Hush the Baby.* Illustrated by Emily McCully. Viking, 1971.

Even though older brother Will is on his way to play baseball, he is asked to attend to his fretful baby brother. Will, who appears to be only 6 or 7 years old, sings a song, plays a game, and does tricks for the baby. After each, he tries to leave, the baby resumes crying, and he is asked by the mother to return. While he is telling an amusing tale, Mother appears with a bottle. Baby falls asleep and Will leaves for his baseball game. The older male child is portrayed as competent and creative in the role of baby sitter.

Caines, Jeannette. *Daddy.* Illustrated by Ronald Himler. E. P. Dutton, 1977.

A poignantly written first person story of the continuing Saturday visits between a young girl and her divorced father. They play out ritualized word games and routines involving names, lost articles, and their father/daughter relationship. Father is pictured hugging, caressing, marketing, and playing with his daughter. Both text and illustrations suggest a warm, loving relationship.

Clifton, Lucille. *Amifika.* Illustrated by Thomas Di Grazia. E. P. Dutton, 1977.

Amifika's father is returning from military service. His mother, in preparation, must rearrange the two-room apartment and "get rid of" things to make room. Since Amifika doesn't remember his father, he fears that his father won't remember him and that he will be "gotten rid of." After running away and falling asleep, he awakens in his father's arms. With his father holding him, kissing him, and dancing with him in his arms, Amifika remembers. A touching story, tenderly illustrated, about the love between a father and his child.

Gauch, Patricia Lee. *Grandpa and Me.* Illustrated by Symeon Shimin. Coward, McCann, and Geoghegan, 1972.

A chronicle of the special things done by a boy with his grandfather during a vacation. The grandfather is a strong, active, yet sensitive and loving adult. Shimin's illustrations show grandfather and grandson as physically close and visually capture the strong emotional bond between the characters.

Greenfield, Eloise. *First Pink Light.* Illustrated by Moneta Barnett. Thomas Y. Crowell, 1976.

A young child bargains with his mother for the opportunity to stay up and await his father's return after a month-long separation. The father has been away taking care of a sick parent. Child falls asleep, father returns and is pictured looking at his sleeping child, holding him close, and carrying him to bed. The love between the father and child is expressed in both text and illustrations.

Kindred, Wendy. *Lucky Wilma.* Dial Press, 1973.

Wilma calls her divorced father Charlie. For three Saturdays they walk through museums and the zoo. Father is pictured as inarticulate with his hands perpetually in his pockets. On the fourth Saturday they are not allowed to enter an art gallery because Wilma is underage. Instead they romp. Wilma rides piggyback, they dance to the music of the flute player in the park, they roll in the grass, and walk home hand in hand where they hug and say good-bye. The gradual change from a stiff reserve to warm close relationship is handled very effectively.

Kirk, Barbara. *Grandpa, Me and Our House in the Tree.* Macmillan, 1978.

Nico remembers his grandfather's visits as full of action—playing ball, working in the garden, building a tree house. He is told by his father that Grandpa has been ill and will be coming to visit after being in the hospital. Grandfather and grandson restructure their relationship now that grandfather can no longer be as active. Although infirmed, grandfather is pictured doing things with Nico that are meaningful and valuable to both. Photographs capture the compassion and love between grandfather and grandson.

Lasky, Kathryn. *I Have Four Names for My Grandfather.* Photographs by Christopher G. Knight. Little, Brown, 1976.

An especially effective grandfather book. The photographs show a grandfather interacting with his grandson—running, playing ball, roughhousing, fishing, building, planting. They also show him hugging, listening to, and teaching his grandson. The simple, effective text also declares that best of all, Grandpa says, "I love you."

Marino, Barbara Pavis. *Eric Needs Stitches.* Photographs by Richard Rudinski. Addison-Wesley, 1979.

While riding his bicycle, Eric falls, cuts himself, and need stitches. His father washes and binds the wound and explains what will happen at the hospital emergency room. Photographs and text clearly explain the process of being admitted and treated, including the stitching. The father is presented as competent, comforting, and supportive.

Mayer, Mercer. *Just Me and My Dad.* Golden Press, 1977.

A humorous story of a camping trip of a father and son. Father is presented as a patient, somewhat bemused adult. Mayer's illustrations show the father and son working together and enjoying each other's company. Father is pictured hugging and reading to his son.

Nolan, Madeena Spray. *My Daddy Don't Go to Work.* Illustrated by Jim La Marche. Carolrhoda Books, 1978.

A powerfullly written and illustrated book about family love. Father, unable to find work, stays home, cooks, plays with and has long talks with his daughter. During a discussion of whether father should go away to look for work, father, mother, and child decide it is not worth breaking up the family. Father is pictured holding and hugging both the daughter and the mother. Illustrations are particularly sensitive.

Perry, Patricia and Marrietta Lynch. *Mommy and Daddy Are Divorced.* Dial Press, 1978.

Told from a child's point of view, this realistic book, illustrated with photographs, presents the feelings associated with building a new relationship with the divorced father. Father is shown playing with and enjoying the company of his children. He tells his angry son that he understands and loves him even though he doesn't live with him anymore.

Raynor, Dorka. *This Is My Father and Me.* Alber Whitman, 1973.

A collection of photographs of fathers and their children from 21 countries around the world. Raynor captures fathers of many races and nationalities interacting with their children in a wide variety of ways.

Salus, Naomi Panush. *My Daddy's Mustache.* Illustrated by Tomie de Paola. Doubleday, 1979.

A delightful tale about why a father keeps his mustache. While son is cuddling in his father's lap, they engage in an extended fantasy involving word play about what is hidden in the mustache. Tomie de Paola's illustrations depict a physically close and loving relationship between father and son.

Whitman, Sally. *A Special Trade.* Illustrated by Karen Gundersheimer. Harper and Row, 1971.

An entertaining, sensitively told story of the changing relationship of a young child with an elderly male neighbor. At first Bartholomew is the initiator. He establishes the rituals of the friendship—playing games, going for walks, learning to skate, and communicating with Nelly. After the old man falls, is hospitalized, and must use a wheelchair, Nelly becomes the initiator and their relationship, although changed, continues to be strong and lasting.

Zolotow, Charlotte. *A Father Like That.* Illustrated by Ben Shecter. Harper and Row, 1978.

A fatherless boy fantasizes about the kind of father he would like to have. This sensitively written story presents the boy and his imaginary father engaged in many situations which demonstrate love and understanding. The boy's mother suggests that he may have to wait until he grows up and becomes a father before his fantasy is realized.

Reference

Huck, Charlotte. *Children's Literature in the Elementary School.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1979, p. 56.

Images of Women at Work in Children's Literature

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One of the most profound social changes of the past decade has been the dramatic increase in the number of women who work. The world of work is no longer a man's world. The family with a husband working to support a wife who stays home to rear the children still exists, but certainly no longer represents the picture of the "typical" family.

The first visible labor force statistics, recorded in 1890, showed that only 18 percent of the women in the U.S. were in the paid work force; today 50 percent are in the paid work force. By 1990, 52 million women will be working or looking for work. Most will be married, and many will have young children. In fact, mothers of children under the age of six are currently entering the work force at a more rapid rate than any other group (Smith, 1979). It is projected that by 1990 the traditional stereotype of the wife who stays home to rear the children will fit less then 25 percent of married women (Smith, 1979).

Sociologists point to many factors, such as changing attitudes and economic benefits, which are associated with the dramatic increase in the number of women in the paid work force. Perhaps the most influential factor has been the increasing acceptance of non-traditional career roles for women. In the 1930's only 18 percent of the women surveyed answered "yes" to the question, "Do you believe that married women should have a full-time job outside the home?" (Oppenheimer, 1970). Today, 73 percent say "yes" (Oppenheim, Czajka, and Arber, 1976). Sociologists have assembled convincing evidence that attitudes have changed and most women now believe that work outside the home is compatible with their other roles.

A second factor contributing to the increase in the number of working women is certainly an economic one. The cost of staying home has become too great for many women. Wages have continued to increase during the past few decades with no corresponding increase in the rewards of working within the home. Therefore, greater numbers of women have shifted their work activity to the paid labor market (Smith, 1979).

Children's Literature and Working Women

Children's literature can be an important avenue through which children develop positive images of working women. The sharing of appropriate children's literature selections can provide exposure to a broad range of occupational opportunities and can help eliminate sex-role stereotyping in the career orientation of young children. Such guidance is particularly important for girls because they too often limit their career choices to traditional female jobs—nursing, teaching, or clerical work. Employment trends forecast by the United States Department of Labor (Bulletin 1701) indicate only a slow rate of growth in the number of clerical workers and teachers needed in the next decade and only a moderate increase in the number of nurses required. Labor statistics indicate a great need, however, for systems analysts, programmers, psychologists, and medical laboratory workers, jobs which have traditionally been identified as jobs for men (U.S.D.L., Bulletin 2020).

Children's literature which presents positive images of working women can play an important role in helping *all* children develop healthy attitudes toward the world of work. Research shows that there are few differences in job-related abilities between females and males. Most of the 35,000 occupations in today's work force can be done by either males or females. Tradition, rather than job context, has led to labeling certain jobs as women's and others as men's (Smith, 1979). By selecting and sharing books which show men, and particularly women, involved in different kinds of work, teachers can help children overcome sex role stereotyping as it relates to career choice.

The two annotated bibliographies which follow deal with important educational implications of the continued movement of women into the paid labor force. The first annotated bibliography, "Images of Women and Their Work," addresses the importance of educating and informing *all* children, and particularly young females, about career options for women. The second, "Images of Working Mothers," addresses the need for exposing children to positive and realistic role models of mothers who pursue careers outside the home.

Images of Women and Their Work

The bibliography which follows presents a selection of books about careers of working women with an emphasis on non-traditional careers. The books survey a broad range of career options and provide realistic information through both pictures and text. These books may be used with young

boys and girls, preschool through the elementary grades, to encourage greater understanding of the career options available to women today.

Allison, Beverly and Judith Lawrence. *Ellie Sells Fish.* Photography by Laura Jones and Ian Reeve. Canada: D.C. Heath Canada Ltd., 1975.

One of a quartet of small books about women at work, this volume takes a young boy, Doug, on a thorough visit of a fish market owned and operated by Ellie. He listens as she places orders by long-distance, watches the cleaning and fileting process, and learns about different kinds of edible fish. The following books by the same author highlight women with careers: *Maryon Makes Shapes, Myra Builds a House,* and *Doctor Mary's Animals.*

Beatty, Patricia. *Something to Shout About.* New York: Wiliam Morrow and Company, 1976.

Based on actual incidents in history, this book recounts the story of two professional women, one a lawyer and the other a newspaper correspondent. The story takes place in 1875 in Ottenberg, Montana, where townsmen have erected a jail and a town hall but are content to let a reconverted chicken coup serve as a school. The story revolves around the attempts of the women of Ottenberg to raise money for a schoolhouse.

This suspenseful story is narrated by Hope, a thirteen-year-old whose ambitions for a career are stirred by the professional women she meets. She observes: "I'd noticed for years that everybody who came to our house asked Davey what he was going to be when he grew up, but they never asked me." Finally in response to her female doctor friend she says: "At last! Somebody has asked me the question . . . now I've seen that I could be a doctor or a lawyer or reporter or maybe even more things." Recounting the strength that women displayed in the Old West, this story is warm and swift-moving.

English, Bette Lou. *Women at Their Work.* New York: The Dial Press, 1977.

Twenty-one professional women from all walks of life give first-person thumbnail accounts of their jobs. Each woman shares what is special about her particular job and why it brings satisfaction and excitement to her life. The book is broad in its range of professions included, ages of the women, and ethnic groups represented. From chef to jockey, opthalmologist to newspaper editor, each woman shares very personal feeling about her work. A black judge says, "The best part of being a judge is seeing people who have been in trouble leave my court and do well." A young pilot reveals, "I was so frightened during my first lesson that I got sick to my stomach, but I kept on learning to fly..." Illustrated with superb photographs, this is an outstanding book of tremendous informational value.

Goldreich, Gloria, and Esther Goldreich. *What Can She Be?* Photographs by Robert Ipcar. 11 vols. New York: Lothrop, Lea and Shepard Co.

Through photographs and narratives, the eleven volumes of this series provide insight into the talent, training, interests, and daily routine required of eleven professional careers. The first book is about Doctor Penny, a veterinarian who "feels a special kind of happiness . . . when a kitten she has helped regain its health, purrs contentedly."

Other subjects in the series include: a musician, two women police officers, a team of sisters who operate a dairy farm in Maine, a geologist who teaches at a large university in New York City, a newscaster who works in New York City, and in the most recent volume, a computer scientist who inspires respect for her intelligence and capability.

These slim volumes pack a wealth of clear information illustrated with attractive photographs. Robert Ipcar, the cameraman, became interested in the preparation of this series while searching for a book for his own daughter about professional women.

Klein, Norma. *Girls Can Be Anything.* Illustrated by Roy Doty. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1973.

Adam and Marina are best friends in kindergarten class. Adam always wants to be the leader—dentist, pilot, or doctor. Marina explains to him that women are doctors, they fly airplanes, and they are heads of state. Adam accepts the status-quo gracefully, and the two children have equal roles in their make-believe play.

Lasker, Joe. *Mothers Can Do Anything.* Chicago: Albert Whitman and Company, 1972.

A picture book showing mothers and grandmothers in familiar career roles such as school principals and circus performers, and less common ones such as ditchdiggers and astronauts. Women are shown in traditonal and nontraditional roles; in technical and blue-collar jobs; and in professional careers at home and on the job. A point worth mentioning is the fact that women are shown at different stages of life—young, middle-age, and older. The illustrations are appropriate, clever, and humorous.

Maury, Inez. *My Mother, the Mail Carrier, Mi Mama la Cartera.* Illustrated by Lady McCrady. (Norah E. Alemany, translator). New York: The Feminist Press, 1975.

Lupita is proud of her tall mail-carrier mother. Life in their city apartment and neighborhood is happy and secure for the pre-schooler. Mother carries a heavy bag, calms big dogs and listens to troubles of people on her route. A new friend, Pablo, comes to dinner but leaves in a huff because

Mama says his mother shouldn't have given up a singing career to stay home and cook. Each page has a translation of the English into Spanish.

Merrian, Eve. *Mommies at Work.* Illustrated by Beni Montresor. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955.

A classic book depicting mothers in a variety of careers from ranching to splitting atoms. The book begins by showing women in traditional homemaker roles, moves to illustrations of women with careers, and concludes with happy, dancing children welcoming a mother home from work.

Powell, Meredith and Gail Yokubings. *What to Be?* Illustrated by Richard Miodock. Chicago: Children's Press, 1972.

One little girl fantasizes a myriad of potential occupations. Her imagination runs a gamut of traditonal and non-traditional jobs for women. In a typical verse she ponders what to do:

A traffic director, a building inspector?
A happy-faced clown, the mayor of some town?

Rockwell, Hawlow. *My Doctor* New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1973.

A picture book designed to acquaint a young child with a doctor's office, its equipment and procedures. The doctor is a woman whose friendly, calm manner combines with pictures of scales, stethoscopes, and even hypodermic needles to allay fears of the unknown by making it familiar.

Images of Working Mothers

The bibliography which follows presents a selection of books which portray working mothers as realistic characters in books for and about young children. Because the majority of children come from homes where the mothers are trying to be both good mothers and good employees, there is a need to expose children to books which realistically portray working mothers. These books may be used with young boys and girls, pre-school through the elementary grades, to promote an understanding of family life in homes where the mother is a member of the paid labor force.

Adams, Florence. *Mushy Eggs.* Illustrated by Marilyn Hiish. New York: G. P. Putnam's Son, 1973.

A picture book showing the daily lives of two little boys and their love for their baby sitter, Fanny, who "makes the best mushy eggs in the world." The parents are divorced but separately provide happy times for their boys. Mom works in the city on a computer and Dad is an accountant.

Blaine, Marge. *The Terrible Thing That Happened at Our House.* Illustrated by John C. Wallner. Parents Magazine Press, 1975.

A humorous story about a young girl who longs for life as it used to be before her mother returned to work. Before that terrible thing happened, life was calm and orderly. Mother returns to work as a science teacher and life becomes hectic for all the family—breakfast is a rush, sneakers are lost, and general chaos rules. All ends well as the family works out a cooperative compromise. The children share some chores and the family has special time together again. The pop-art illustrations are full of color and motion. A delightful and sensitive treatment of the realistic problems families face when a mother returns to the paid work force.

Howe, Deborah and James Howe. *Bunnicula.* Illustrated by Alan Daniel. New York: Atheneum, 1979.

An unusual baby rabbit is found in a seat at a movie theater where *Dracula* is playing. The rabbit is brought home by the Monroe family as a pet. He joins Harold, the dog who narrates the story, and Chester, a literate cat. The mother's occupation as a lawyer and the father's as a professor are incidental to the plot except, as Harold says, ". . . we think of it as a special household."

Hill, Elizabeth Starr. *Evan's Corner.* Illustrated by Nancy Grossman. U.S.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967.

Evan's mother does domestic work and has the energy and imagination to attend to her big family's physical and emotional needs. She helps Evan establish a corner of their apartment for his own private place and allows him the freedom to decorate his nook and spend time there as he wishes.

Love, Sandra. *But What About Me?* Illustrated by Joan Sandin. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976.

A mother's return to work and her daughter's unhappiness about it is the central theme of this story. Lucy is afraid in the house alone after school and suffers several pre-adolescent escapades—locking herself out, breaking a neighbor's garage window, and telling ghost stories by candlelight which causes a fire. These events compound her dissastisfaction. Lucy matures, however, through her experiences and becomes proud of her mother's job at the newspaper.

Sorton, Toni. *Adventures of B. J. the Amateur Detective.* Illustrated by Allan Eitzen. Nashville and New York: Abingdon Press, 1974.

After B. J.'s father's death, her mother takes over his private detective agency in a small town. At her office eleven-year-old B. J. stumbles onto a clue concerning a shop-lifting ring operating at the local department store.

Feeling she should pursue a clue left in a memo on her mother's desk, B. J. attempts a meeting with an informant and becomes involved in the mystery.

Vestly, Anne-Cath. *Aurora and Socrates.* Illustrated by Leonard Kessler. (Eileen Amos, translator). New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1977.

While their mother works as a lawyer, Aurora and Socrates' father stays at home to keep house and take care of the two children, and complete the studies for his Ph.D. degree. When he accepts an offer to teach at the University, new arrangements with baby sitters are made. These arrangements include a substitute grandmother who surprises her family by learning to drive, and a real grandmother who comes with her friend to help. All ends well when father earns his degree, and the children happily accept having two working parents.

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Children need exposure to a wide variety of occupations. They need to know what a job actually involves so they can begin to assess their own interests and abilities related to the job. As the number of working women continues to increase, it is more important than ever for girls, as well as boys, to begin to think seriously about what women can do in the world of work.

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